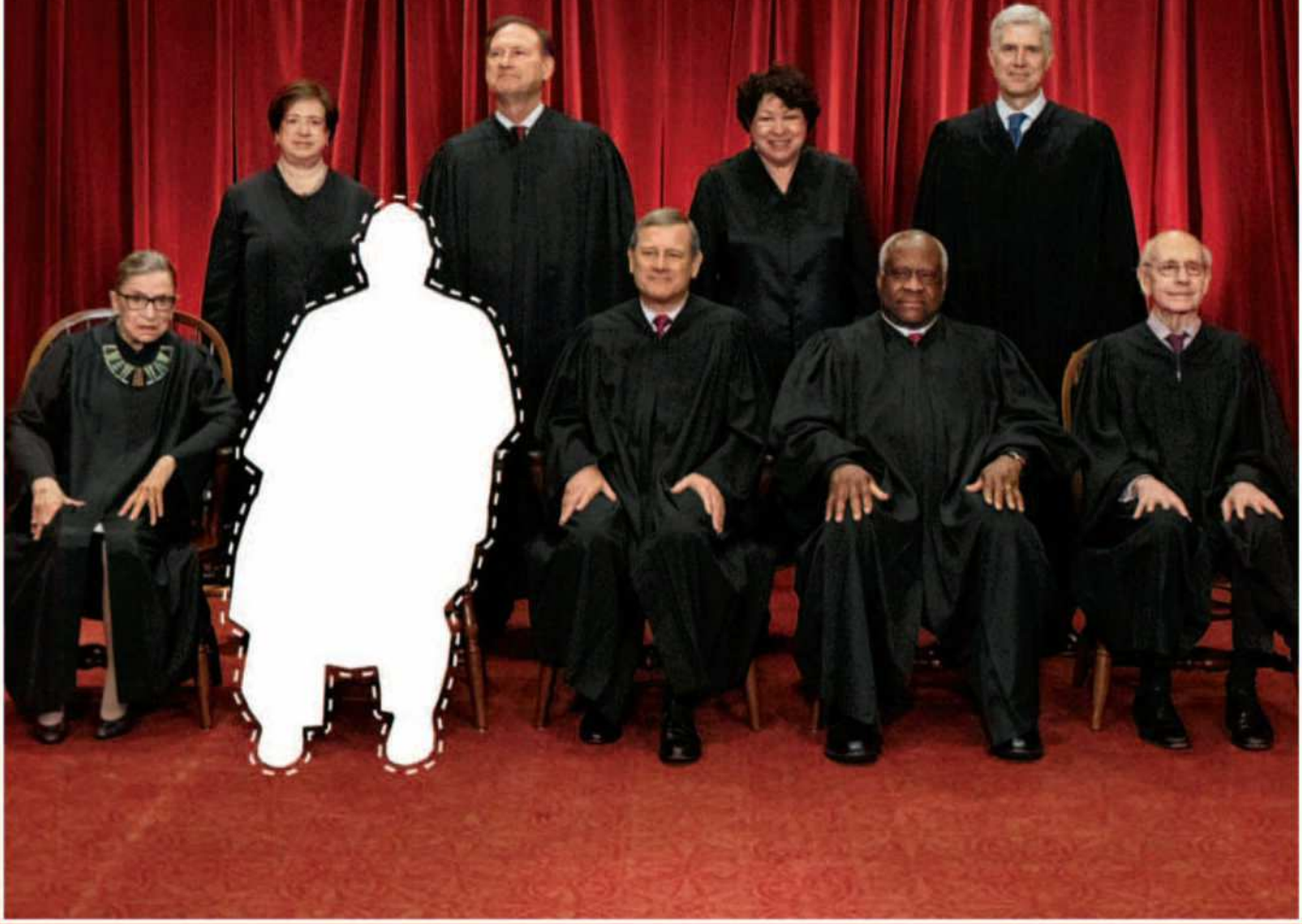
JULY 9, 2018

TIME

IT'S TRUMP'S COURT NOW

by MASSIMO CALABRESI



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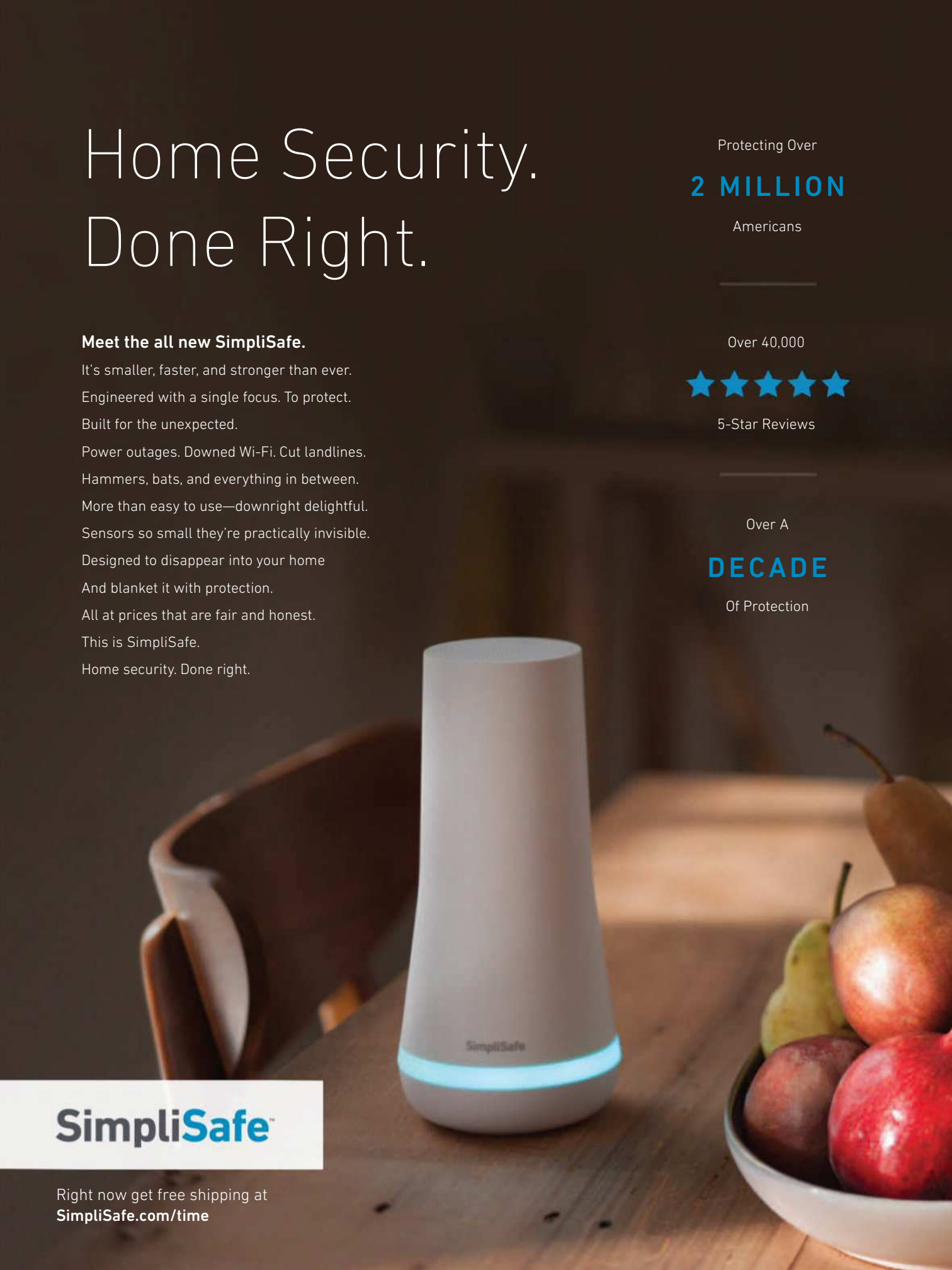

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Photograph by Ayesha Malik for TIME

ON THE COVER: *TIME photo-illustration. Photograph by Christopher Morris—VII for TIME*

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WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

WELCOME TO AMERICA The July 2 cover story on the White House immigration policy separating families left readers sharply divided—especially about the photo-illustration on the cover, which showed a teary 2-year-old Honduran girl looking up at President Trump. Skip Rimer of Los Angeles called it "the best magazine cover I've ever seen," and Nancy Wakefield of Green Bay, Wis., praised the way the design captured the issue. "One picture tells the whole story," she wrote.

> ***'I stand with TIME. Cover is spot on.'***
>
> MERRILOU NEIGENFIND, Fort Mill, S.C.

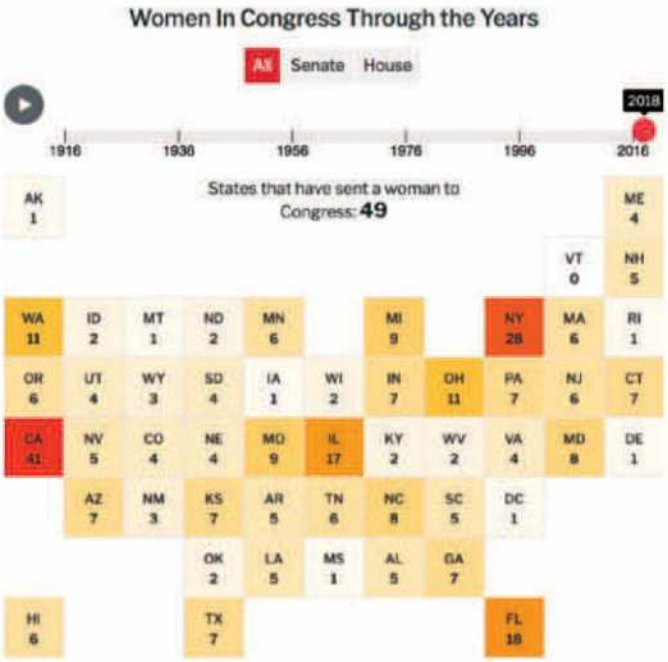
Others, however, thought the cover took too opinionated a stance on the situation and that, as a matter of photojournalistic integrity, the picture of the girl should have been shown in its original state. Gregory L. Thebeau of Wildwood, Mo., objected to our showing an encounter between the President and a child that "never took place."

And some took issue with the use of that image in the first place. Fereidoun Behi of Reston, Va.—who said that, after becoming an American citizen by obeying the rules, "I expect everyone else [to] follow the law"—was one of many people who found the image misleading because the girl in the picture had not been separated from her mother.

> ***'Our President is doing what ... the people elected him to do.'***
>
> JOHN BAKER Pittsburgh

TIME editor Edward Felsenthal addressed the matter in a June 24 interview on CNN, noting that the picture, which had gone viral that week, was chosen because it had helped drive the national conversation. "This photo symbolized this moment in America," he said. "She became the face of this debate." He added that the cover juxtaposed her "with the person ... in whose hands her fate was held."

The headline on a column by the Washington *Post*'s Kathleen Parker concluded, "The crying child is a Rorschach test."



WOMEN IN CONGRESS TIME Labs has created an interactive map showing how many women each U.S. state has sent to Congress—California leads the pack with 41—and how that number has changed over time. See the full map at **time.com/congress-map**

AVAILABLE NOW LIFE's new special edition *The Story of America in 100 Photographs* begins with an 1862 photo of the site of the Battle of Bull Run in Manassas, Va.—taken not long after the dawn of photography—and traces American history all the way up to a 2017 photo of children celebrating after being sworn in as U.S. citizens. *Find it now, in time for Independence Day, on Amazon.*

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For the Record

‘All my actions I did willfully.’

REALITY WINNER,
former National Security Agency contractor, pleading guilty to leaking documents related to the investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election

‘HER WORKS REFLECT DATED CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND PEOPLE OF COLOR.’

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION,
explaining that the Laura Ingalls Wilder Award will be renamed the Children’s Literature Legacy Award in the wake of renewed attention to the *Little House on the Prairie* author’s stereotypical portrayals of Native Americans

‘WHO IS THIS STUPID GOD?’

RODRIGO DUTERTE,
President of the Philippines, dismissing the biblical creation story in a speech on June 22 that has angered church leaders in the predominantly Catholic country

$1,500

Prize money won by Zsa Zsa, a 9-year-old English bulldog, for her victory in the 2018 World’s Ugliest Dog contest

‘I’ve made myself a hate magnet.’

ROSEANNE BARR,
actor, in her first interview since ABC canceled her rebooted sitcom over her racist tweet; the network announced on June 21 that it would bring back a version of the show without her

‘We just felt there are moments in time when people need to live their convictions. This appeared to be one.’

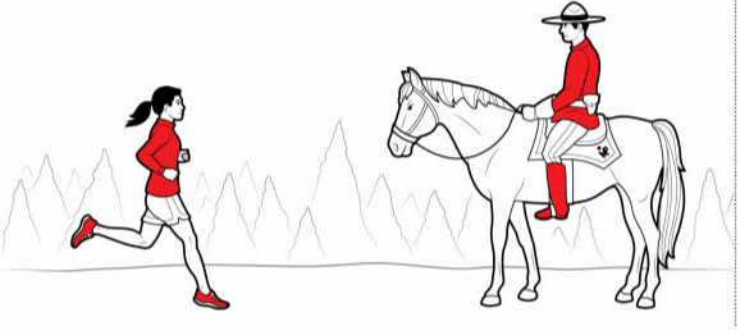
STEPHANIE WILKINSON,
owner of the Red Hen restaurant in Lexington, Va., explaining why she asked White House press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders to leave the eatery on June 22

400

Approximate number of people rescued via helicopter from the Swiss mountain featured in the 1969 James Bond movie, *On Her Majesty’s Secret Service,* after a cable car got stuck 10,000 ft. above sea level

14

Number of days a 19-year-old Frenchwoman spent in a U.S. immigration detention center after accidentally jogging across the U.S.-Canada border while visiting her mother in British Columbia



Piccadilly
Piccadilly-line London tube workers plan to strike during Trump’s U.K. visit

Dill pickles
KFC adds a pickle fried-chicken sandwich to menu

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: ASSOCIATED PRESS; BBC; NEW YORK TIMES; RABBI SHMULEY BOTEACH; REUTERS; WASHINGTON POST

The Brief

COMBAT AMOVES
A U.S. tank takes part in an exercise in Grafenwöhr, Germany, on June 7

INSIDE

THE VIOLENT SITUATION IN WEST AFRICA THAT COULD BE WORSENED BY CLIMATE CHANGE

THE MANY LAYERS OF THE SUPREME COURT'S RULING IN THE TRAVEL-BAN CASE

THE COMPLICATED JOB OF FIRST LADY—AND WHAT MELANIA TRUMP IS DOING WITH IT

PHOTOGRAPH BY FILIP SINGER

WORLD

Is NATO Trump's next target?

By Charlotte McDonald-Gibson/Brussels

THE PREFERRED TERM FOR THE 29 COUNTRIES of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is not *members* or *signatories* but *allies*. Yet as a July 11–12 NATO summit approaches, 28 of those nations' leaders would be forgiven for questioning whether that word still applies to the leader of the 29th.

In the space of two weeks in June, U.S. President Donald Trump baited the E.U. and Canada into a trade war; argued that Russian President Vladimir Putin—still under E.U. and U.S. sanctions for the annexation of Crimea—should be invited back into the G-7; and branded Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau as "dishonest" and "weak." He then met with North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un, calling him a "very talented" leader. More recently, National Security Adviser John Bolton was dispatched to Moscow to meet the Russian President, ahead of a Trump-Putin summit in mid-July. That could strengthen bilateral ties between the U.S. and Russia—and make allies even more anxious.

"The friends and allies of the United States [were left] wondering, who is the leader of the democratic world?" Anders Fogh Rasmussen, the previous Secretary-General of NATO, tells TIME. Many in Brussels are now concerned that NATO, the alliance that has preserved global stability since 1949, might be the next foundation block to go as the President tries to uproot the old world order. "It would be no less than a disaster," says Rasmussen. "Not only for the Western democratic world but for the democratic world globally."

'Allies of the U.S. [were left] wondering, who is the leader of the democratic world?'

ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN, former Secretary-General of NATO

NATO HAS LONG PLAYED a key role in Trump's narrative that the U.S. foots the bill for the rest of the world at the expense of its own citizens. He once again lambasted NATO allies' contributions during a speech on June 25 in South Carolina by falsely claiming that the U.S. was responsible for 90% of spending. In fact, the U.S. provides 22% of the NATO alliance's common funding—which covers NATO's running costs, the military budget and some capabilities like aerial surveillance.

Under pressure from Washington—and reacting to Russian aggression—NATO members agreed in 2014 to each increase defense spending to 2% of GDP by 2024. So far, only eight NATO countries have met that target, Rasmussen says. While many Europeans agree with Trump's general point about defense spending, his approach is exasperating allies. One day after the G-7 summit, Trump launched a Twitter tirade aimed at Europe, lamenting that the U.S. spends money "protecting many of these same countries that rip us off on Trade" and warning that "change is coming."

European leaders are now punching back at the U.S. French President Emmanuel Macron said, "We don't mind being G-6, if needs be," while the E.U. retaliated on June 22 with its own tariffs on U.S. goods. "The initial idea of playing nice with Donald Trump has been demonstrably proven to yield no benefits," says Anthony Gardner, who served as U.S. ambassador to the E.U. from 2014 to '17.

BUT THERE IS far more at stake when it comes to NATO. Since Putin annexed Crimea in 2014, nations along NATO's eastern flank have been increasingly concerned by Russian aggression and still see the U.S. as the most important backer of their security.

"Without the United States, European security would be in great danger," says Latvian Foreign Minister Edgars Rinkevics. "We can't simply build something that would exclude the United States: look at the resources, look at capabilities." Indeed, the Pentagon's European Deterrence Initiative will spend nearly $4.8 billion this fiscal year and plans on $6.5 billion in 2019. "The American people remain committed to this alliance," said Air Force Major Sheryll Klinkel, a Pentagon spokeswoman.

But tensions between the U.S. and Germany may come to the fore, since Berlin spends comparatively less on defense than other major powers. With that in mind, German defense officials traveled to Washington ahead of the summit to try to sell a plan to increase defense spending to 1.5% by 2025, though it would fall short of the 2% target. After the meeting, Defense Secretary James Mattis said Germany was "on the right track."

Rasmussen urges NATO members to keep discussions about defense spending behind closed doors, cautioning that a public disagreement might raise doubt over the U.S.'s commitment to Article 5, the clause that says all NATO members will respond if one is threatened. "Putin might take it as a signal that when push comes to shove, [the U.S.] will not be ready to really defend its allies," he says. "It sends a very dangerous signal to autocrats."

At last year's summit, Trump caused a stir by refusing to explicitly affirm his commitment to Article 5 in a speech at a memorial to the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, when the U.S. became the first member to invoke the clause. He corrected that a few weeks later, reportedly on the advice of his national-security team.

Rasmussen hopes that this time, Trump will also listen to figures like Mattis, who has served as a NATO commander. In February, the retired general told reporters, "NATO remains our No. 1 alliance." —*With reporting by* W.J. HENNIGAN/WASHINGTON

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Coffins at a funeral service on May 22 for 17 worshippers and two priests who were allegedly killed by Fulani herdsmen in central Benue State, Nigeria; the region has suffered a wave of deadly unrest

THE BULLETIN

How climate change is heating up land conflicts in West Africa

BLOODY CLASHES BETWEEN FARMERS AND nomadic herders in Nigeria's central Plateau State in late June claimed at least 86 lives, as each group vied for the region's increasingly scarce farmland. Competition for farmland has long been a flash point in parts of Africa, but with climate change putting more pressure on resources, it now threatens to become a major source of instability.

DRY LAND Desertification, in which fertile land becomes barren desert, now affects as much as 60% of Nigeria's land, exacerbated by drought and climate change. As a result, cattle herders from northern Nigeria have been pushed farther and farther south to find land to graze livestock, causing friction with farmers settled in central states. As Nigeria's population has spiraled to 191 million, and amid an ongoing conflict with Islamist insurgents, the competition for land has become fierce. At least 10,000 people have died in the resulting clashes since 2011, and many more have lost their homes.

REGIONAL THREAT Across the Sahel, more than 80% of people depend on natural resources for their livelihoods, according to the U.N. As water and farmland become scarcer, land conflicts in countries with strong ethnic divides are poised to get far worse. Already, clashes like those in Nigeria have killed tens of thousands in Mali, the Central African Republic, South Sudan and others. Millions more have been displaced, with many joining the flow of migrants to southern Europe.

GLOBAL POTENTIAL In June, the U.N. Environment chief Erik Solheim urged countries to help Africa build a more sustainable future, suggesting that solar plants in the Sahel might "help green and uplift the area." The agency has funded water-management projects in Sudan, where more than 2 million people have been displaced, partly as a result of depleted resources. But the problem of climate security isn't limited to a corner of Africa; current estimates suggest that anywhere from 25 million to 1 billion people will be forced to migrate because of the changing climate by 2050. The competition for usable land will only get more intense.

—CIARA NUGENT

NEWS TICKER

Judge orders migrant families reunited

A federal judge in California granted a preliminary injunction on June 26 **halting nearly all family separations at the U.S. border.** The judge said children who'd been separated from their families under the Administration's "zero tolerance" policy must be reunited with them within 30 days; children under 5 must be reunited in 14 days.

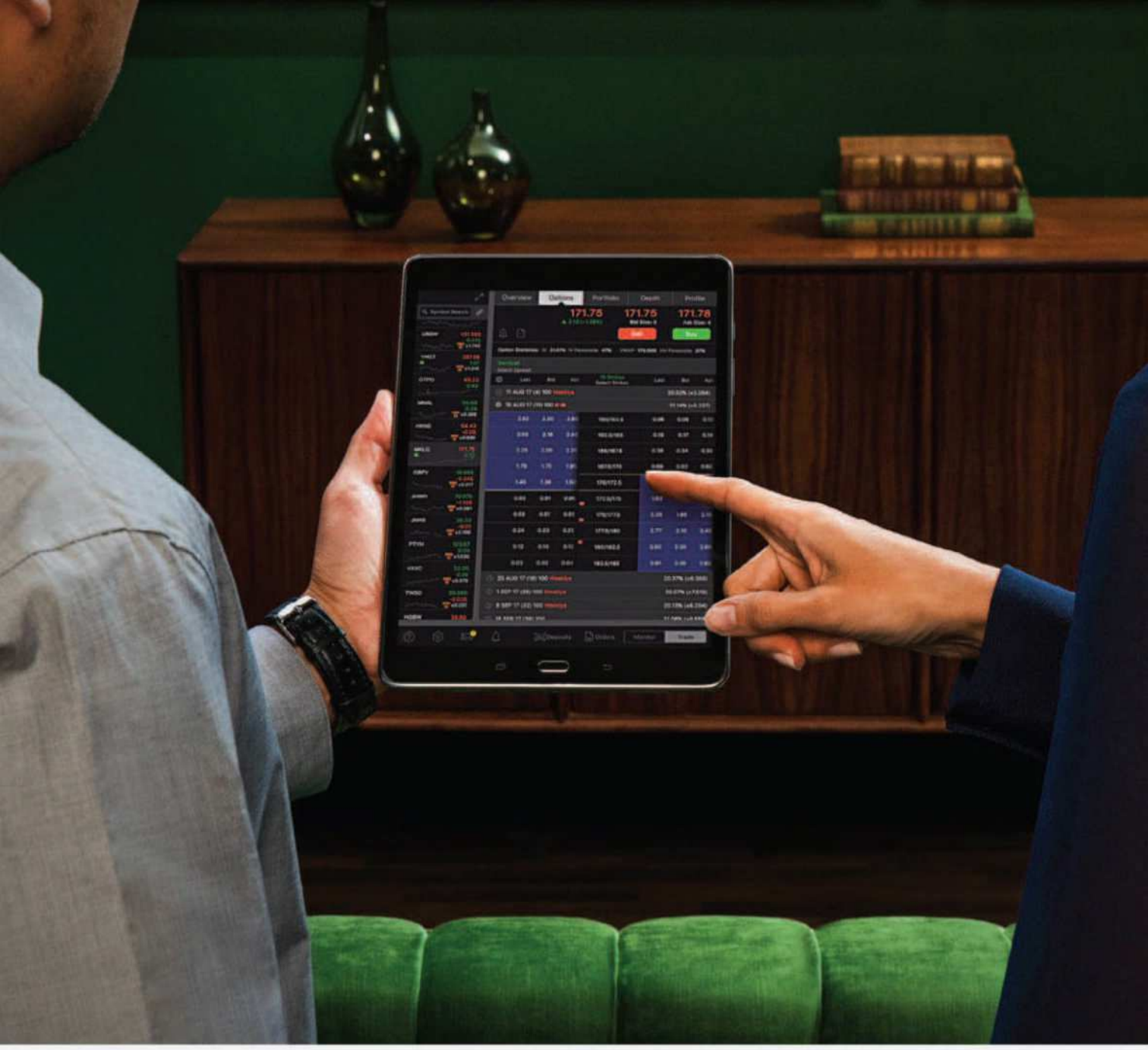
Prince William makes historic Middle East trip

Prince William became the **first British royal to make an official visit to Israel and the West Bank,** during a five-day Middle East trip that began on June 24 and also included time in Jordan. His plans included meetings with Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas.

California fires lead governor to declare emergency

California Governor Jerry Brown declared a state of emergency for Lake County on June 25 after the Pawnee fire **charred more than 10,000 acres, forced thousands from their homes** and destroyed at least 22 buildings in Northern California.

EMMY IBU—AFP/GETTY IMAGES



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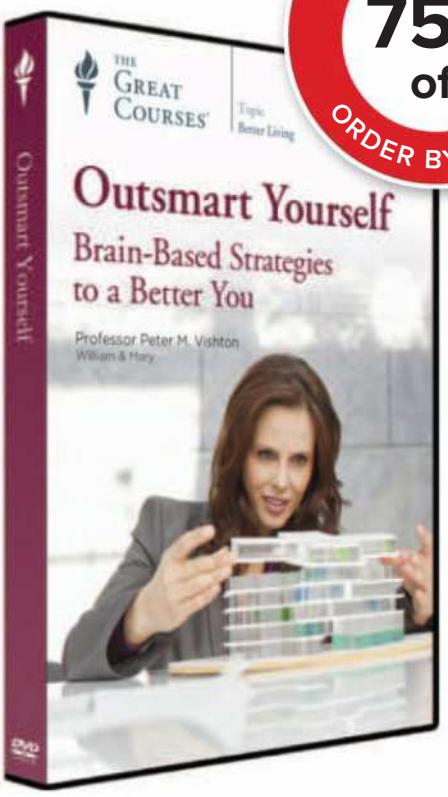

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NEWS TICKER

Iranians protest over economy

Iranians **marched on their parliament on June 25** in protest against the slumping value of their currency, the rial, which has lost 50% of its value against the dollar in less than a year. The disturbances were even bigger than those in January, which rocked the country but failed to gain steam in the capital.

Ocasio-Cortez beats Congressman Joe Crowley

The fourth-ranking Democrat in the House, a New Yorker seen as a potential future Speaker, lost his June 26 primary to **28-year-old Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez** in a historic upset. She is a staunch leftist who worked for Bernie Sanders and is a Democratic Socialists of America member.

Record year for Indian stock markets

India's stock markets had **more initial public offerings than any other country** in the first half of 2018, according to a report by accounting firm EY. Ninety companies, mostly in industry, banking and hospitality, launched IPOs that accounted for 16% of listings worldwide and raised $3.9 billion.

JIM LO SCALZO—EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Protesters gather at the Supreme Court on the day the Justices upheld the ban

GOOD QUESTION

What's hidden inside the Supreme Court's ruling on the travel ban?

FOR PRESIDENT TRUMP, THE SUPREME Court's ruling on his travel ban could be summed up in a word. "Wow!" he tweeted.

In one of its final decisions of the term, the Supreme Court on June 26 rejected a challenge to Trump's September 2017 order banning entry to the U.S. for citizens of some Muslim-majority nations, a big win for the Administration on a policy that has been mired in the courts for months. But Trump's simple exclamation belies the complex divisions and revelations within the decision.

Chief Justice John Roberts wrote for the majority that the government showed sufficient national-security justification for the order and that the demographics of the countries it affected weren't proof of "religious hostility." Justice Sonia Sotomayor, joined by Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, disagreed. In a stinging dissent, she accused conservative Justices of "ignoring the facts" of how the order had been advertised. (The other two liberal Justices joined in a different dissent.)

This wasn't the court's only hot-button-issue case this term. It also said that California couldn't force crisis pregnancy centers to advertise state abortion services, held that law enforcement needs a warrant to pull cellular site records, ruled narrowly in favor of a baker who refused to make a wedding cake for a same-sex couple, and sided with Republicans in two gerrymandering cases.

But the travel ban was always going to be the most political, and Justices on both sides of the ideological spectrum took pains to separate themselves from what is now considered one of the court's most shameful decisions. The court officially overturned 1944's *Korematsu v. United States,* which infamously upheld the constitutionality of the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II and which has been the subject of comparisons to current immigration policies by the Administration's opponents.

For SCOTUS watchers, of all the opinions issued by the court on this case, the one to pay attention to was Justice Anthony Kennedy's concurrence. Siding with the majority, he also urged officials to remember the importance of religious tolerance with a poeticism that some attributed to a man who might not have many opinions left to write. Sure enough, the next day, Kennedy, 81, announced his retirement *(see page 26)*. "An anxious world must know that our Government remains committed always to the liberties the Constitution seeks to preserve and protect," he wrote, as if seeking an epitaph for his career on the bench, "so that freedom extends outward, and lasts."

—TESSA BERENSON

WASHINGTON MEMO

The inscrutable Melania Trump is redefining America's weirdest job

By Molly Ball

IT WAS ALL MELANIA'S IDEA. THE STATEMENT REBUKING her husband's immigration policy. The hastily arranged trip to the southern border. Even the jacket—oh, God, the jacket. From the beginning of her husband's term, First Lady Melania Trump has been mysterious, private to the point of secretive, seldom seen and even less often heard. As outrage over the Administration's policy of separating children from their parents peaked, the First Lady—herself an immigrant who came to America seeking a better life—took it upon herself to speak up. But the message was so inscrutable that the mystery only deepened.

On Father's Day, the First Lady released an unprecedented statement not so subtly taking issue with the policy. Without consulting her husband, she planned a June 21 trip to an unaccompanied-children's center in McAllen, Texas, according to her office. Whatever message was intended, it was overtaken by the words on the back of the green jacket she wore as she boarded the plane: I REALLY DON'T CARE. DO U?

Every First Lady bears the burden of having one of the world's weirdest jobs. It comes with no salary or fixed portfolio but plenty of star power, expectations and scrutiny. Most of the office's recent occupants have combined spouse-supporting symbolism with a set of pet policies. Melania Trump, by contrast, has offered only the merest glimpses of her life and the vaguest semblance of a platform. Which is why the jacket became a fresh token for speculation on the meaning of Melania. As with other women who put up with problematic men—from Hillary Clinton to Harvey Weinstein's assistants—we can't decide whether she's victim or accomplice. And her silence only deepens the mystery.

Melania Trump listens as President Trump meets with King Felipe VI of Spain on June 19

TRUMP: JABIN BOTSFORD—THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES; KRAUTHAMMER: RAY LUSTIG—THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES; KOKO: BETTMANN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

THE ENIGMA BEGINS with the Trumps' unusual relationship. The President's third wife, 23 years his junior, cried on election night, according to Michael Wolff's *Fire and Fury*. She didn't move to Washington for nearly six months after the Inauguration so that their only child, 12-year-old Barron, could finish the school year in New York City. She and her husband sleep in separate rooms, according to the New York *Times*. Barron now attends a private school in the D.C. suburbs. Melania's parents, Slovenian citizens who are legal permanent residents of the U.S., are rumored to reside in the area.

In early May, 16 months after her husband took office, Melania unveiled her official program, a three-pronged mission to encourage healthy living, fight opioid abuse and counter cyberbullying. Then, on May 15, the White House announced that Melania was at a Washington-area hospital for a procedure to treat a "benign kidney condition." The procedure, a surgical treatment known as embolization, is a minor one, but she didn't resurface until 24 days later. Her husband tweeted a combative explanation for her postsurgery absence that amplified the rumors: "During her recovery from surgery they reported everything from near death, to face-lift, to left the W.H. (and me) for N.Y. or Virginia, to abuse," he wrote. "All Fake, she is doing really well!"

OTHER PUBLIC COMMENTS only deepen the mystery. On June 7, Rudy Giuliani, the President's lawyer, said the First Lady believed her husband's denial that he had trysted with a porn star, Stormy Daniels, in 2006. Said the First Lady's spokeswoman, Stephanie Grisham: "I don't believe Mrs. Trump has ever discussed her thoughts on anything with Mr. Giuliani."

At the border shelter in McAllen, Melania asked children a series of factual questions: "Where are you from?" and "How old are you?" She didn't hug them or ask about their feelings. Then she got back on the plane, where the cable-news firestorm over the $39 jacket had already erupted. When she got off, she was wearing the jacket again. Worn by a civilian on the street, it would be a tart declaration of aloof detachment, a little bitchy, a little confrontational. But in the context of the trip, it was sharply at odds with her mission. The First Lady and her staff declined to offer an explanation. "It's a jacket. There was no hidden message," Grisham said. The President then undermined that statement with a tweet claiming the jacket was a message to the "Fake News Media."

Donald Trump's Secret Service name is Mogul; Melania's is Muse. As a model and celebrity wife, she's surely accustomed to being looked at. Women, especially beautiful ones, have long understood that there's nothing so tantalizing as something you can't understand. Now Melania's actions raise the most tantalizing question of all. If she really doesn't care, what might she do next? ◻

DIED
South African photographer **David Goldblatt,** who captured the brutal realities of apartheid, on June 25 at 87.
› **Joe Jackson,** the controversial patriarch behind the Jackson 5, on June 27. He was 89.

BORN
A daughter, **to New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern,** on June 21. Ardern is the first world leader to give birth while in office in nearly 30 years.

CHANGED
The **U.S. Open's approach to seeding players after pregnancy leave,** the organization said on June 22, after French Open officials were criticized for not seeding Serena Williams when she returned to competition after giving birth last fall.

CANCELED
Fifteen performances of ***Billy Elliot*** by the Hungarian State Opera on June 22. Ticket sales for the musical plummeted after a conservative writer claimed the show was spreading "gay propaganda."

DETECTED
The **first outbreak of polio in Papua New Guinea** in 18 years, by the country's Department of Health and the World Health Organization on June 25.

APPROVED
The first drug in the U.S. **derived from marijuana,** by the Food and Drug Administration on June 25. The drug, Epidiolex, treats two rare and severe forms of epilepsy.

Krauthammer—pictured in Washington, D.C., in 1985—was a contributor to TIME beginning in the early 1980s

DIED

Charles Krauthammer

Compassionate conservative

IF WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR. WAS THE MONARCH OF 20TH CENtury American conservatism, then Charles Krauthammer, who died of cancer on June 21 at age 68, was its best general: an intellectual hurricane who could turn the often sloppy craft of ideological warfare into an elegant art. His writing on U.S. politics inspired and sustained a generation of conservative policymaking; even those who strongly disagreed with him could not deny his influence. His legacy—particularly with regard to the Iraq War, for which he cheered—is worthy of the sort of serious consideration at which he was so preternaturally good.

But I will remember Charles Krauthammer first and foremost as a man of deep compassion. In June 2017, my father sustained a spinal-cord injury while surfing in Nicaragua, leaving him paralyzed from the chest down. Two weeks later, he received an email from Krauthammer, who was himself a quadriplegic—a fact unknown to many of even his deepest fans and a testament, perhaps, to the energy of his presence—and who had happened to have briefly met my father at an event in Washington several months earlier.

It was a note of optimism recounting his own recovery. After I heard of Krauthammer's death, I returned to his email. One line has stuck with me: "I wish only to assure you from my own experience … that it can be a very good life indeed."

—NASH JENKINS

DIED

Koko

A truly great ape

TO BE KNOWN BY ONLY ONE name requires a certain degree of celebrity. Fittingly, at the time of her death on June 19 at age 46, Koko was perhaps the most famous ape in the world—a 280-lb. western lowland gorilla who did more than impress observers with her mastery of sign language. The Gorilla Foundation in California, where she lived, called her an "ambassador" for her own kind, but her impact reached beyond species.

Born in captivity, Koko began learning sign language from her trainer, Francine "Penny" Patterson, when she was about a year old, and came to understand more than 1,000 different signs, which she used to share her feelings. She expressed sadness after the 2014 death of Robin Williams, with whom she had played. Her desire to get a cat for Christmas in 1983 was later adapted into a children's book. She also expressed herself in other ways, including snapping a mirror selfie that made the cover of *National Geographic* in 1978. Koko changed the way we think about animals and our interactions with them—a legacy that is almost as big as she was.

—SOPHIA ROSENBAUM

Cricket hero **Imran Khan** led Pakistan's team to victory. As a politician, he's riding a populist wave

By Charlie Campbell/Islamabad

THE POTHOLED ROAD TO IMRAN KHAN'S HOME IN Islamabad curls for a mile up a steep hill, where the cricketer turned politician can escape the dust, fumes and backstabbing of Pakistan's sprawling capital below. The lofty setting gives his converted farmhouse a fortresslike perch—one that hums with the energy of "a government in waiting," Khan says.

The world once knew Khan as the Oxford-educated playboy who captained Pakistan to its only Cricket World Cup victory, in 1992, and married British heiress Jemima Goldsmith, a close friend of Princess Diana's. But after two decades in his country's turbulent political arena, Khan, 65, has a real shot at running the country.

On July 25, Pakistan chooses a new government in general elections. To become Prime Minister, Khan needs his Movement for Justice (PTI) party, founded in 1996, to break the stranglehold of the two main political dynasties that have been in power for decades between periods of military rule. He is running on an antigraft ticket, promising an end to the corruption that he says has led the nuclear-armed South Asian nation of 208 million to the edge of failure as a state.

Khan hopes to yoke public anger after last year's ouster of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif for corruption. Riding a wave of social-media outrage, he successfully petitioned the Supreme Court to disqualify Sharif from politics. "It's a big victory," Khan says. "But the struggle is now on. The corrupt political elite is trying to protect itself. We have hit rock bottom. The poor are getting poorer, and a tiny number of people are getting richer."

PAKISTAN'S WOES are indeed grave. It has spiraling debt and a record trade deficit of $36 billion. Some 29.5% of the population lives below the poverty line, according to government data, with literacy rates at just 58%. Power shortages regularly plunge homes and factories into darkness.

Pakistan is also a key supply route—and unsteady ally—in the U.S.'s 16-year war in Afghanistan. Its military, which remains the country's most powerful institution, nominally supports the U.S. but for reasons of its own also cultivates jihadi groups, including the Taliban.

President Trump used his first tweet of 2018 to decry the $33 billion in aid that he claimed the U.S. had "foolishly" provided to Pakistan in exchange for "nothing but lies & deceit." He wrote, "They give safe havens to the terrorists we hunt in Afghanistan … No more!" He has since withheld $2 billion in security aid to Pakistan, prompting Khan to press the government to "immediately remove excessive U.S. diplomatic, nondiplomatic and intelligence personnel from Pakistan" and "deny the U.S. [ground and air communication] facilities which we were providing free of cost."

Islamabad played down the spat. But for Khan, his nation's role in the U.S.-led Afghanistan war has been a disaster that has cost 70,000 Pakistani lives, weakened the domestic security situation and ripped more than $100 billion from the economy.

It's not just about economics. Anti-American rhetoric has long been a populist vote winner here. At a rally, behind razor-wire balustrades adorned with the PTI's signature green and red bunting, a fist-pumping Khan exhorts thousands of supporters to "never be slaves" of America.

Trump has doused those nationalist embers with verbal gasoline, equating Muslims with terrorists and successfully banning citizens of five Muslim-majority nations from traveling to the U.S. "I found him very offensive, humiliating and just clueless about Islam," says Khan. "But he did something worse: he took the lid off the Islamophobia, and it became a free-for-all."

Despite his antipathy to long-standing U.S. policies, Khan insists he is "not anti-American." But he is also looking to rival superpower China, which is Pakistan's No. 1 trading partner. Islamabad is the single largest buyer of Chinese weaponry. A new $62 billion China-Pakistan Economic Corridor of ports, pipelines, railways and power plants is under construction to the Chinese-built Gwadar Port in Baluchistan. For Khan, burgeoning ties with Beijing are "a great opportunity."

KHAN'S OWN POLITICAL CAREER as opposition firebrand has now lasted longer than his career on the cricket field. Born in 1952 to an affluent Pashtun family in Lahore, the capital of the Punjab province, Khan went on to study politics, philosophy and economics at Oxford University.

It was in the U.K. that he first played cricket for Pakistan, at age 18. Adept with both bat and ball, he is credited for turning his nation into an international cricketing force. "Cricket captaincy strengthened me to take pressure," says Khan. "You have to make moment-to-moment decisions."

The greatest obstacle to Khan's political career has perhaps been his personal life. After nine years of marriage, he and Jemima Khan—who had converted to Islam for their wedding—divorced in 2004. (The couple's two sons live in London with

KHAN QUICK FACTS

All-rounder
Khan became captain of Pakistan's cricket team in 1982 and led it to a World Cup victory in 1992.

Game plan
In 1996, Khan founded his centrist Movement for Justice party with the goal of creating a welfare state.

Bouncing back
Khan failed to make any significant gains until 2013, when his party came in third. His anticorruption platform has since drawn major public support.

CAREN FIROUZ—REUTERS

their mother.) Khan's second marriage, to British-Pakistani journalist Reham Khan, in 2015 lasted only months. In February, he married his "spiritual guide," Bushra Maneka.

Khan may have spent his earlier years carousing with supermodels under the paparazzi glare of London's nightclubs, but the debonair playboy has had to grow up. "Politics here is not normal," he says. "In England, it's a piece of cake. In America, it's pretty easy. But here you are up against mafias. There is physical danger."

The question now is what a victory for Khan might mean for U.S. security interests. "The roots of all terrorist movements are in politics, never in religion," Khan says carefully, fingering a string of Islamic prayer beads. But many have criticized him for not being tough enough on the Pakistan Taliban. The group's 2014 massacre at a school in Peshawar—killing 149, including 132 children—was condemned even by the Afghan Taliban. Khan still called for talks. Asked in 2016 whether Osama bin Laden was a terrorist, he declined to comment. Critics have nicknamed him Taliban Khan.

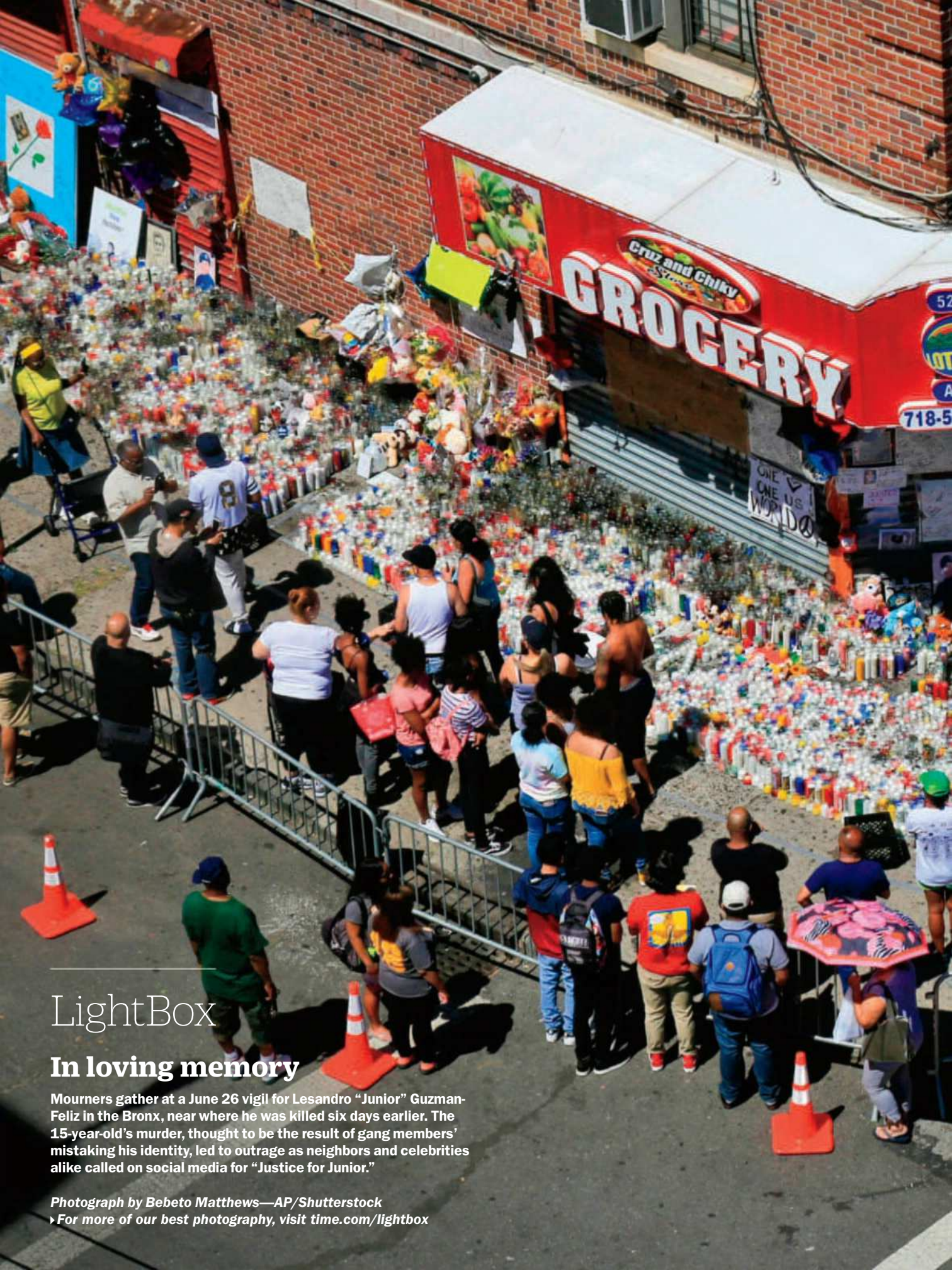
'I found [Trump] very offensive, humiliating and just clueless about Islam.

IMRAN KHAN, cricketer turned politician

Despite Khan's courting of the hard-liners, his chances of victory appear slim. A Gallup poll in May gave Sharif's former party a 13-point lead over the PTI. Still, Khan is enjoying broader support today than in the 2013 election, when the PTI came in third—largely thanks to the military, which loathes the Sharif political machine and has adopted strong-arm tactics to boost Khan's leadership bid.

"PTI will certainly be a force to be reckoned with in the election," says Michael Kugelman, a South Asia expert at the Woodrow Wilson Center. "Khan has been able to project himself, accurately in my view, as an incorruptible new type of politician who doesn't have ties to special interests."

Khan also takes solace in the fact that opinion polls can be misleading—as the U.S. discovered in 2016. Indeed, his tirades against the establishment, his showbiz charisma and his volcanic use of social media have drawn comparisons with the current occupant of the White House. Is he simply a Pakistani Trump? "Compare me to Bernie Sanders," Khan says, laughing. "I'm the opposite of Donald Trump." □



LightBox

In loving memory

Mourners gather at a June 26 vigil for Lesandro "Junior" Guzman-Feliz in the Bronx, near where he was killed six days earlier. The 15-year-old's murder, thought to be the result of gang members' mistaking his identity, led to outrage as neighbors and celebrities alike called on social media for "Justice for Junior."

Photograph by Bebeto Matthews—AP/Shutterstock

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The View

Farm laborers wait on the Mexican side of the border in hopes of crossing into the U.S., circa 1954

J.R. EYERMAN—THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

Seven moments from U.S. history that matter now

The dates most Americans remember (July 4, 1776, for example) work as shorthand for signal events. If change takes place across decades, individual moments remind us what came before and how we got to where we are. So, with Americans celebrating their country at a time of widespread disagreement about what it stands for, TIME asked top historians to nominate moments that resonate now—moments that just might serve as the mnemonic devices the nation seems to need. On these pages, several explain their choices.

1954: The U.S. begins mass deportation of Mexican immigrants

In 1954, the federal government carried out one of its first mass deportations of Mexican immigrants from the U.S. Operation Wetback, as it was known, ended up separating parents from their children, stranding deportees in the deserts of northern Mexico without food or water, and damaging the U.S.'s reputation at home and abroad. For decades prior, the southwestern borderlands had prospered under a more fluid, humane and practical definition of boundaries, driven in large part by the wants and needs of the blended, binational border communities. In deference to these local interests, the federal government had resisted engaging in draconian deportation measures.

Those reservations fell by the wayside as a wave of anti-Mexican animus, triggered by an economic recession, led the Immigration and Naturalization Service to adopt a highly militarized approach to immigration law enforcement, with Operation Wetback at its center. Since 1954, mass deportations have become so routine that the American public now takes them for granted. We have forgotten that there was a time in U.S. history when the removal of hundreds of thousands of immigrants by the federal government was unthinkable. —S. DEBORAH KANG

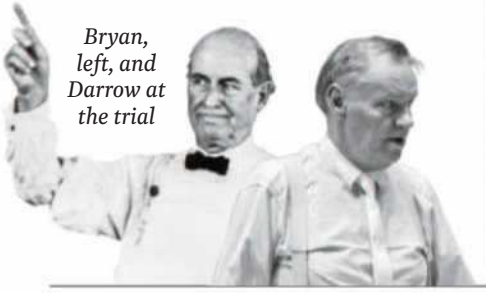
Kang, an associate professor of history at California State University, San Marcos, is the author of The INS on the Line: Making Immigration Law on the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1917–1954

1925: The Scopes trial chastens fundamentalists

When populist politician William Jennings Bryan faced off against attorney Clarence Darrow, it was the highlight of the Scopes trial—a case about teaching evolution in Tennessee that had captured national attention—and the capstone of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy in the Protestant churches. Darrow grilled Bryan on his interpretation of well-known Bible stories. Did he really believe that the whale swallowed Jonah, that Joshua made the sun stand still and that Adam and Eve were the first people? Bryan answered yes, but Darrow made him admit he didn't know how these things happened and didn't know any geology or ancient history. The big-city journalists reported that Darrow had revealed Bryan's ignorance and the absurdity of his biblical literalism. The Great Commoner died five days later, as if the defeat had killed him.

The fundamentalists retreated from battle, dismissed by the rest of society, but they flourished under the radar of the press, planting churches from California to Virginia. In 1979, Jerry Falwell surprised everyone by launching a powerful political movement of fundamentalists and other conservative evangelicals. Thirty-seven years later, with white evangelical voters making up more than a quarter of the electorate, the Christian right helped elect Donald Trump. —FRANCES FITZGERALD

FitzGerald is the 2017 winner of the National Book Critics Circle award for nonfiction for The Evangelicals



Bryan, left, and Darrow at the trial

Hill testifying before the Senate Judiciary Committee on Oct. 14, 1991

1991: Anita Hill speaks up on harassment

We cannot forget what Anita Hill faced when she spoke at the Senate judiciary hearings on the nomination of Justice Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court. Hill was an African-American lawyer facing an all-white, all-male Senate committee gathered to hear testimony on Thomas' character, including Hill's claims of sexual harassment as his employee at the Department of Education and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Ultimately, Thomas was confirmed and Hill encountered public scrutiny as her credibility and veracity were questioned well after the hearing. Still, Hill's brave testimony garnered a strong feminist mobilization and helped lead to the enactment of workplace and government policies on sexual harassment that would enable victims to seek justice.

In 2018, we bear witness to the reach and ramifications of the #MeToo movement, which began with another black woman, Tarana Burke, and has continued the difficult work of reshaping relations between men and women—and exposing the wrongdoings of powerful men, including those in Washington's halls of power. —MARISA J. FUENTES

Fuentes, the Presidential Term Chair in African-American History at Rutgers University, is the author of Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive

1863: Abraham Lincoln reminds America of its founding principles

When Abraham Lincoln dedicated a national cemetery to the soldiers who had died at Gettysburg, four months after that central battle of the Civil War, he was not the principal speaker. But no other speech that day has been remembered the way Lincoln's words are. He spoke of the past, of the "proposition that all men are created equal" on which the Republic was founded; he spoke of the present, of the sacrifices ordinary men in blue had made to vindicate that proposition; and he spoke of a future in which Americans must continue to dedicate themselves to the "great task" of preserving that ideal forever. Nothing else anchors the challenges of our present to the intentions of our past more clearly than the Gettysburg Address. Whatever else changes in American life, that proposition does not change; and holding it close is the best guarantee that democracy will endure. —ALLEN C. GUELZO

Guelzo, the director of Civil War–era studies at Gettysburg College, is the author of Reconstruction: A Concise History

BRYAN: DARROW: GETTY IMAGES (2); HILL: LAURA PATTERSON—CQ ROLL CALL/GETTY IMAGES; MEUSE-ARGONNE: THE PRINT COLLECTOR/GETTY IMAGES; BAKER: JACK HARRIS—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

1918: American troops change the course of WW I—and U.S. influence

Although the Meuse-Argonne campaign is little remembered today, it was the greatest U.S. military contribution to World War I and the opening act of the "American century." The 47 autumn days of brutal fighting claimed 26,277 American lives—making it the deadliest battle in the nation's history—and left nearly 100,000 doughboys wounded. This sacrifice materially contributed to the collapse of the German army. It earned Woodrow Wilson a major role in crafting the peace that followed. And it demonstrated that the U.S., which had generally avoided great power entanglements, had the will and ability to assume a major role on the world stage by using its vast military, political and economic power to secure its global interests and further the nation's worldview. But the Meuse-Argonne also highlights the fact that hard-won victories do not always lead to a just and enduring peace—a lesson that is as crucial today as it was back then. —RICHARD S. FAULKNER

Faulkner, the chair of military history at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, is the author of Pershing's Crusaders: The American Soldier in World War I

An American gun in the Meuse-Argonne offensive in France, in 1918

1565: Explorers bridge the Pacific

The first successful voyage across the Pacific Ocean from the Americas to Asia and back occurred in 1564 and 1565. Barely two generations after Columbus' more famous voyage, European explorers faced an ocean that was roughly twice as large as the Atlantic and extremely difficult to navigate. This epic passage established a transpacific link, and no other shipping route has been more successful or lasted longer. Trade brought the continents together and created a seascape around the Pacific basin that included places like Acapulco, Manila and the coast of California. By the 18th and 19th centuries, American merchants had built on these existing connections to launch their own commercial ventures into the Asia-Pacific region, a process that continues today—even as Washington engages in a trade war with China. —ANDRÉS RESÉNDEZ

Reséndez, a professor of history at the University of California, Davis, is the author of The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America

1964: Ella Baker makes a plea for black lives

Baker at a news conference in 1968

In August 1964, civil rights activist Ella Baker stated, "Until the killing of black men, black mothers' sons, becomes as important to the rest of the country as the killing of a white mother's son, we who believe in freedom cannot rest until this happens." Baker delivered those words during a keynote address in Jackson, Miss., just days after the discovery of the bodies of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner—three civil rights activists who were murdered earlier that summer. Baker had helped organize the Voter Education Project and "Freedom Summer," which brought volunteers like Goodman and Schwerner to Mississippi to register voters. (Chaney was from there; he was black and the others were white.) After the three men went missing that June while investigating the burning of a black church, the case made national headlines as federal investigators searched for them. But while combing through the area, search teams discovered other bodies too—murdered black Mississippians whose lives had not been considered important enough to warrant a federal investigation.

Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner were given posthumous Presidential Medals of Freedom in 2014, but the story of those other morbid discoveries—the inspiration for Baker's speech—never reached a satisfying conclusion. Her words continue to inspire activists, and especially resonate with the Black Lives Matter movement, built on the premise that the killing of unarmed black Americans should trouble everyone, regardless of their race. —TYINA STEPTOE

Steptoe, an associate professor of history at the University of Arizona, is the author of Houston Bound: Culture and Color in a Jim Crow City

The most influential people on the Internet

FOR OUR FOURTH ANNUAL LIST OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE on the Internet, TIME evaluated contenders by looking at their global impact on social media and their overall ability to drive news. Here are some highlights from the full list, available at time.com/internet2018

Lil Miquela
The virtual supermodel

Lil Miquela has all the makings of an Instagram ingenue, from the effortless good looks to the philosophy-lite selfie captions ("You can be not okay and still be strong"). The glaring difference? The self-described artist—also known as Miquela Sousa—isn't actually real; she's a virtual avatar whose origins and purpose are mysterious. (She was built by an entity called Cain Intelligence—which may or may not exist—before being taken over by Brud, an L.A.-based computer-software firm, but she is no longer managed by Brud, a publicist says.)

That hasn't stopped the fashion world from embracing Miquela as a style icon. In February, Prada tapped her to help promote its new line of animated GIFs on Instagram. In March, she appeared in an issue of *V Magazine,* which dubbed her the "face of new-age logomania" (a reference to the gear she "wears," from brands such as Balenciaga and Kenzo). And in June, she was featured in *Wonderland*'s summer issue—alongside actual celebrities like Migos and Amandla Stenberg.

—Melissa Chan

Miquela has more than 1.2 million followers on Instagram, including Diplo and Lena Dunham

Busy Philipps
The 'Grammer next door

Busy Philipps has been, as she puts it, an "actor for hire" for 20 years—appearing on cult classics like *Freaks and Geeks* and *Dawson's Creek* in the early 2000s, and shows such as *Cougar Town* and *Vice Principals* in the 2010s. But now she may well be more famous for living out loud on Instagram. In November 2016, she began using the platform's new Stories feature to narrate her everyday life. It is, of course, a pretty charmed one—she's chronicled everything from having a front-row seat to the Best Picture mix-up at the 2017 Oscars to getting locked out of her house after attending the Golden Globes, all of which were covered by entertainment media.

But her unscripted messages—usually delivered directly to the camera in minute-by-minute bursts—also address deeper topics, including what it's like to raise two kids as a working mom and her struggles with mental health. And they've helped her connect with more than 1 million followers, many of whom, she says, see her more as a friend than an actor. "People really feel like they know me on a deep level—and they do to a certain extent," she says. "I really put a lot out there." Because of her newfound fame, Philipps has earned a book deal, lucrative partnerships with brands such as Michaels and Campbell Soup and recently, her own late-night talk show on E!

On a social-media platform filled with celebrities and influencers promoting specific ways of life, Philipps stands out—simply by being herself: "It never occurred to me to be any different way."

—Megan McCluskey

LIL MIQUELA: INSTAGRAM; PHILIPPS: GETTY IMAGES

The Minds Behind Talent Discovery With AI

The epic amount of new music uploaded to the Internet is making it harder to discover the right talent. An IBM developer created a Watson™ application to help music producers work smarter and find the right collaborators. Meet the artist discovered with the help of IBM Watson at **ibm.com/music**

Joshua Carr
IBM Developer

He built the AI solution that helped discover an artist.

H.E.R.
Singer/Songwriter

She was looking for a voice to complement her own.

Alex da Kid
Music Producer / Label Owner

He used AI to help create the perfect collaboration.

Tim Ganss
Spotify Music Intelligence

He used data to help focus the search.

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Shaun King
Social-justice vigilante

King first rose to prominence alongside the Black Lives Matter movement after using Twitter to share details about the death of Michael Brown, the 18-year-old who was fatally shot by a police officer in Ferguson, Mo., in 2014. At the time, King, a former pastor turned journalist and activist, had 100,000 followers; now he counts more than a million. But his mission remains the same: to raise awareness about the plight of marginalized communities—even as critics liken his methods to mob justice. "How people feel about me doesn't affect the work that I do," King says. "I care about the people and causes I'm fighting for."

In the past year, King amplified stories about racism at Starbucks and the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Va., as well as one about a police officer's sexually assaulting a Texas woman during a traffic stop that proved to be false. More recently, he asked his followers to identify a white man recorded on video screaming and threatening to call ICE on Spanish-speaking workers at a New York restaurant. Within hours, the case made national headlines and the man's name was trending on Twitter. "Hey Aaron Schlossberg, You are now famous," King tweeted. "You will be known for your overt bigotry and harassment for a very long time." —*Cady Lang*

Tyler Blevins (a.k.a. Ninja)
Gaming's new golden boy

Blevins may not be as renowned as LeBron James or Cristiano Ronaldo, but there's no doubt he's a most valuable player. His arena of choice: *Fortnite,* the wildly popular battle-royal video game, set in a postapocalyptic future. There, 27-year-old Blevins plays as Ninja, a revered figure whose live streams—filled with goofy commentary that can touch on tangential subjects like the best brands of children's cereals—have generated more than 230 million views on Twitch.tv. "Staying as positive as possible is always great," says Blevins, who lives in suburban Chicago, of his live-streaming strategy. "It's the streamer's job to leave all their sh-t at the door and put on a show."

His offline empire is also expanding. In June, Ninja inked sponsorship deals with Red Bull and the PSD underwear brand; on July 21 he'll host an overnight *Fortnite* tournament on the 99th floor of the Willis Tower in Chicago. Blevins is now earning about $1 million a month and cites the singer Drake—with whom he has played *Fortnite*—as a role model. "He just keeps putting out better and better stuff," says Blevins. "I'm just going to keep doing that with gaming. That's the plan."

—*Sean Gregory*

Naomi Watanabe
Japan's style star

With 8 million followers on Instagram, 30-year-old Naomi Watanabe is Japan's most popular star on social media. She's also one of its most fearless, expertly using her platform as a comedian and fashion designer to challenge long-held stereotypes about Japanese women. Watanabe catapulted to fame 10 years ago after her over-the-top impersonations of Beyoncé and Lady Gaga went viral—becoming known as the "Beyoncé of Japan." Her endearing personality and brash sense of humor have since helped her land gigs as a judge on *X Factor Japan* and a cast member on the country's version of *Saturday Night Live.* She's also making waves in fashion, getting an endorsement deal with Gap and seats at recent Fendi and Gucci runway shows; in 2014, she released her own clothing line, Punyus, which carries sizes up to a U.S. 16. "I want to tell people to love themselves as they are," Watanabe tells TIME. "I want them to treasure what they have—that's how I gained confidence." It's all part of Watanabe's appeal both on- and offline: a commitment to being herself. —*C.L.*

CHARLOTTE AND DAVE WILLNER
This Bay Area couple started the biggest single fundraiser in Facebook history, generating more than $20 million to provide legal aid to immigrants and refugees.

RIHANNA
After she posted an Instagram story denouncing Snapchat for running an ad making light of domestic violence, the company lost $800 million in value—in a single day.

DESUS AND MERO
This comedy duo parlayed their Twitter and podcast fame into late-night TV hosting gigs, first on Viceland and soon to be on Showtime.

PRESIDENT TRUMP
His unorthodox stream of consciousness on Twitter has generated headlines, galvanized his base—and raised concerns among officials in the national-security community.

KING: SHUTTERSTOCK; WILLNERS: DENNIS GRIGGS; WATANABE, BLEVINS, RIHANNA, DESUS AND MERO, TRUMP: GETTY IMAGES

BULENT KILIC—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Erdogan pictured on June 24 as initial results for the presidential and parliamentary elections came in

THE RISK REPORT

Turkey's superpowered President still has weaknesses

By Ian Bremmer

NOW THAT RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN HAS been re-elected as President of Turkey, is the nation headed for "one-man rule," as opposition candidate Muharrem Ince warned and international headlines suggest? Not so fast.

Erdogan has dominated Turkish politics for 15 years. He became Prime Minister in 2003, until term limits led him to run for President in 2014. He won and then called for a referendum to give his new job important new powers.

In July 2016, Erdogan survived a failed military coup and has since used a state of emergency—still in effect—to purge the country's military, police and courts of enemies, both real and imagined. His government has arrested nearly 160,000 people; closed independent newspapers and television and radio stations; blocked tens of thousands of websites; and shut down hundreds of civil-society organizations.

In April 2017, Erdogan narrowly won his referendum and saw legitimate accusations of cheating. But to enjoy his new powers, he needed to see victory in another presidential election—which he did on June 24 of this year. Erdogan can now issue edicts with the force of law and pack the courts with loyal judges. The post of Prime Minister will no longer exist.

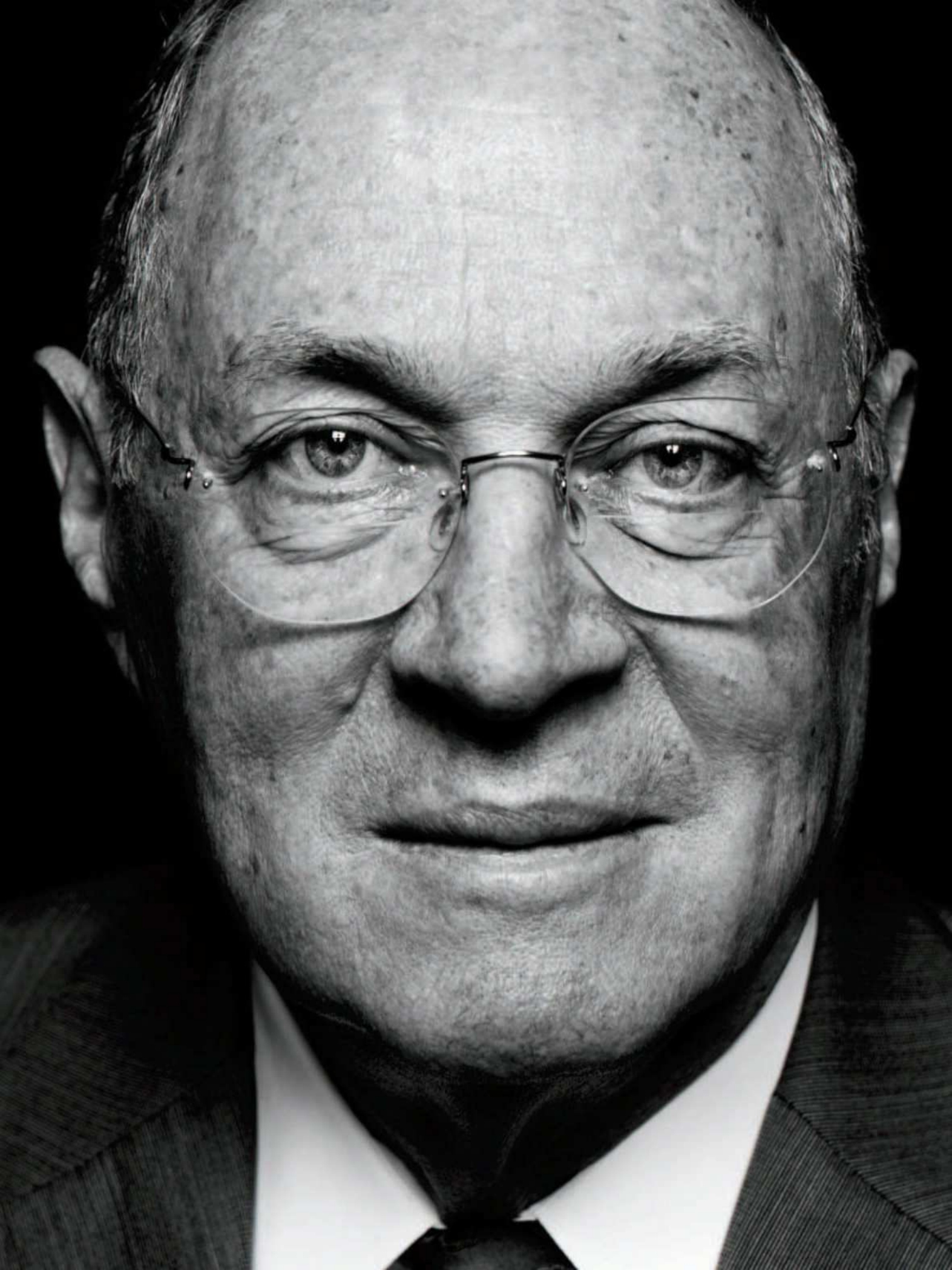
Here's the catch: Erdogan's Justice and Development Party (AKP) did not win a parliamentary majority. To form a government, the AKP has had to partner with the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), which wants the government to spend more money to maintain a crackdown on Kurds inside and outside Turkey and to pursue a hawkish foreign policy that makes Turkey more active in Syria and less friendly to NATO allies in Europe and the U.S. That's bad news for the President, Turkey's economy, its internal security and its foreign policy.

WHILE THIS IS the first time Erdogan and the AKP have had to accept a coalition party, it is not the first time the AKP has failed to win a majority. In the previous instance, in June 2015, Erdogan called another election, and his party regained its majority five months later. But early elections are a much riskier proposition today. Turkey's economy is in bad shape and getting worse: inflation is high, and its currency remains unsteady. The AKP also carried just 42.5% of the vote and is down 7 percentage points from the last election.

For five years, Erdogan will need backing from hardcore nationalist Devlet Bahceli, leader of the MHP, to pass his budgets, move legislation and avoid a parliamentary veto of his decrees. Bahceli understands the strength of his position. He'll insist on an uncompromising approach to Turkey's Kurdish separatists and their perceived civilian allies, which could intensify conflict in Kurdish regions as well as in Syria and Iraq, and provoke attacks in Turkish cities. He'll also want Erdogan to increase criticism of the E.U. and the U.S. Erdogan has taken a hard line on all these subjects in the past, but Bahceli will raise the political cost of flexibility and a more conciliatory approach. And at a time when Turkey's economy is unsteady, Bahceli will make it harder for Erdogan to push for less state spending and reform.

Erdogan now has more power than any other Turkish leader since the nation's modern founder. Yet even though he and his party already control most of the media and the messaging—Ince got less than one-tenth of the TV airtime that Erdogan enjoyed—the President managed just 52.5% of the vote.

It won't be easy to build an authoritarian system atop such a bitterly divided society. Dependence on allies will come at a cost. The weakening economy will take a political toll. There will be protests, and the government's response will help determine Turkey's stability. The President's new powers will not free him of the obstacles ahead. ◻



Supreme Court

IT'S TRUMP'S COURT

The unpredictable Anthony Kennedy's retirement presages a more conservative era on the Supreme Court

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI

Kennedy, 81, has cast key votes on abortion, free speech, race, gay rights and other issues

PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER HAPAK FOR TIME

FOR YEARS, SOME OF THE MOST CONSEQUENTIAL DISCUSSIONS IN AMERICA WERE HELD AROUND A SMALL ROUND TABLE IN FRONT OF A WINDOW WITH A VIEW ACROSS FIRST STREET TO THE CAPITOL BUILDING. IT WAS THERE, IN THE PIN-DROP SILENCE OF HIS SUPREME COURT CHAMBERS, THAT JUSTICE ANTHONY KENNEDY CONVENED HIS CLERKS EACH YEAR TO ASSIGN AND ANALYZE THE CASES THAT WOULD COME BEFORE AMERICA'S HIGHEST COURT IN THE COMING MONTHS.

It was also where Kennedy would greet guests for private conversation. Courtly to the point of caricature, he would have his staff lay out white linen napkins and a cut-crystal milk jug, then serve tea. He would also salt his legal analysis with Shakespearean allusions, fresh in his mind from after-dinner reading at home with Mary, his wife of 55 years. Alternately self-effacing and grandiloquent, he talked about the books he was reading and what worried him about the law, the country and the world.

And it was there at that table, in the early morning after beating the Washington traffic into the capital, that Kennedy often wrestled with the thorniest issues America faced. Should abortion be legal and easily accessible? How could affirmative action be deployed to right the historic wrong of racism without becoming racist itself? Should gay people have the same rights as straight people?

If the image of quiet, contemplative debate seems anachronistic in these vituperative times, the contrast is even more poignant after the Justice's latest decision. On June 27, Kennedy announced that he would step down from the court, taking with him the unique moderating role he has played in America for three decades. The last swing voter on the court, he sought—often to the frustration of everyone around him—to find compromise between competing ideals and, at times, ideologies.

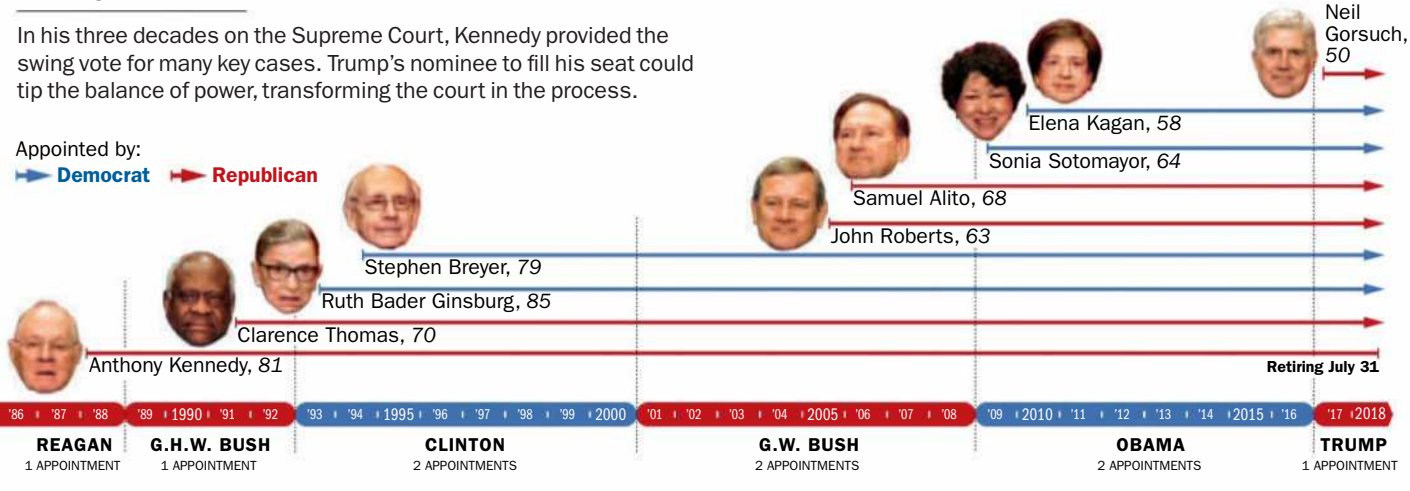
What remained of that world is about to come crashing down. Some 30 minutes after the 81-year-old Justice met with President Trump in person at the White House, his resignation became news, and preparations for battle broke out across Washington.

Leonard Leo, Trump's top outside adviser on judicial nominations, told TIME that the President could announce a nominee in the next two to three weeks. The timing would put Trump on track to potentially seat his second Justice by Oct. 1—the start of the next high-court term, and well before midterm elections could alter the Republican majority in the Senate. "I think that as long as the President sticks to the model that worked last time, which is to appoint someone like Neil Gorsuch," Leo says, "that is the best recipe for ensuring some level of bipartisan support."

Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell, who orchestrated the GOP blockade of President Obama's nomination of Merrick Garland to the court on the grounds that a new Justice should not be confirmed in an election year, said he had no such reservations this time. As word of Kennedy's resignation broke, McConnell convened a group of senior Republicans in his office to walk them through his plans

END OF AN ERA

In his three decades on the Supreme Court, Kennedy provided the swing vote for many key cases. Trump's nominee to fill his seat could tip the balance of power, transforming the court in the process.



PREVIOUS PAGES: TRUNK ARCHIVE; TRUMP: AL DRAGO—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; JUSTICES: CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—VII FOR TIME (9)

Kennedy leaves the Rose Garden with Trump on April 10, 2017, after Gorsuch was sworn in as the 113th Supreme Court Justice

to confirm Trump's nominee this fall. "We will vote to confirm Justice Kennedy's successor this fall," McConnell said.

Immediately following Kennedy's decision, which had been rumored for months, conservative groups sprang into action. Americans for Prosperity, backed by billionaire brothers Charles and David Koch, turned the keys on a seven-figure grassroots campaign to build support for Trump's nominee. The political machine is ready to run ads, knock on doors and make phone calls to pressure Senators. The effort also aims to energize conservatives who might otherwise have sat out this November's elections but now see a solid conservative majority on the nation's highest court as more than a theoretical prospect. "We knew this day was coming. We have plans on the shelf," says a GOP official. "We are Republicans. This has been our dream for years."

For many Democrats, it was a moment to mount the barricades. In an election season when women are dominating Democratic primaries, the selection of a Justice who might vote to overturn *Roe v. Wade* would put massive pressure on even traditionalist Senators to filibuster. "Whether it's women's issues or discrimination against religion or the LGBT community—all those are at risk," Senator Ben Cardin of Maryland told TIME. "The tactics that the Senate majority leader used denied the Supreme Court its proper membership."

The partisan agonists are not wrong about the significance of the moment. Over the years, Kennedy had been a critical vote on everything from gay rights to free speech and even the 2000 presidential election. His replacement with a reliable conservative could shift the country's top court to the right, likely making abortion less available, affirmative-action programs more limited and executive power more expansive. "This will be," predicts Nan Aron, head of the liberal judicial group Alliance for Justice, "the most significant fight over a Supreme Court nomination in decades."

KEY KENNEDY DECISIONS

PLANNED PARENTHOOD V. CASEY *(1992)*
In one of the many abortion cases Kennedy would hear, he sided with the court's progressive wing and voted to uphold *Roe v. Wade*. He continued to support the precedent through his tenure.

CITIZENS UNITED V. FEC *(2010)*
Kennedy wrote the majority opinion holding that corporations have the right to free speech. The decision opened the way for massive campaign spending in recent elections.

OBERGEFELL V. HODGES *(2015)*
Kennedy wrote the landmark decision legalizing same-sex marriage across the country, the capstone of his long history of expanding gay rights from the bench.

FISHER V. UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS *(2016)*
Kennedy walked a fine line on affirmative action, opposing quotas but saying race could be considered as one of many factors. In 2016, he wrote the decision upholding UT's policy that considered race in admissions.

KENNEDY'S WILLINGNESS TO cross party lines was never as great as some liked to believe. He was, after all, a true Republican in the mold of Ronald Reagan, who appointed him. But the moderation that gave heart to liberals has roots in Kennedy's upbringing in the cozy neighborhood of Land Park in Sacramento, a picture-perfect family enclave in midcentury California. Kennedy's father, known as "Bud," was a successful lawyer and lobbyist, and he and his wife "Sis" regularly hosted the capital's civil servants and politicians on their back patio, with its citrus trees and small lawn.

The bookish young Kennedy looked up to these charismatic figures, and a happy childhood with friends in the neighborhood offers a particular lens on his jurisprudence. His father's work, which he eventually took over after

graduating from Stanford and then Harvard Law School, was very much embedded in the freewheeling influence peddling of the California legislature. Some have seen in Kennedy's resolute opposition to constraints on campaign-finance spending, including his opinion in the *Citizens United* case, an echo of his own work from that time.

There were other influences too. Kennedy was set on his path to the court by an unlikely figure. Gordon Schaber was an influential lawyer in Sacramento and got to know Kennedy through his work. He later recruited Kennedy, to teach constitutional law at the night school he was transforming into a respected institution. It was from there that Kennedy found occasional work advising on tax law and other matters for Governor Reagan. After Kennedy became a pivotal vote on gay rights on the court, it emerged that Schaber had lived the difficult life of a closeted gay man. Kennedy later spoke of Schaber's bravery with admiration at his funeral.

When two of Reagan's more ideological nominations to the Supreme Court went down in 1987, Reagan tapped Kennedy, whom he had suggested that President Ford appoint to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals 12 years earlier. Colleagues soon found Kennedy to be an odd combination of bombast and self-effacement. He famously infuriated Antonin Scalia with his high-minded writing. Kennedy in one famous decision spoke of the "mystery of human life," only to see it become a joke in Scalia's dissent. But few ever doubted that Kennedy wrestled honestly with the issues at hand.

"There were very few easy cases for Justice Kennedy," says Michael Dorf, a former Kennedy clerk who is now a law professor at Cornell. "That's not just because he was sort of in the middle ideologically, but because he wanted to approach each case with an open mind."

His departure sets up a difficult decision for democrats. The party's liberal base is eager for a confrontation over any Trump nominee. But the moderate voters the party needs to win in November may prefer compromise. The backlash could be fierce, top Democrats warn. On the other hand, "anything that suggests *Roe* is on the table sends suburban women running from the Republican Party," says one Democratic strategist. "Trump may make a play for the base, and that is only upside for us."

THE SHORT LIST

Trump has promised to fill Kennedy's seat with a judge from a list he has already publicly released. Here's a look at some of the top contenders:

AMY CONEY BARRETT
Indiana, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit

Before she was confirmed to the Seventh Circuit in October, Barrett weathered tough questions from Senate Democrats over whether her Catholic faith would influence her decisions on the bench.

THOMAS HARDIMAN
Pennsylvania, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit

The first person in his family to go to college, Hardiman was the runner-up to Neil Gorsuch for Justice Scalia's seat.

BRETT KAVANAUGH
Maryland, U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit

Like Gorsuch, Kavanaugh was once a law clerk for Kennedy. He was a significant addition to Trump's list last fall.

AMUL THAPAR
Kentucky, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit

Thapar is a home-state favorite of Senate majority leader McConnell's, and he was interviewed by Trump last year.

TRUMP ASSURED THE PUBLIC on June 27 that his nominee would come from the same list of 25 judges that he started writing during his campaign, an unusual gambit that allies credit for helping to coax skittish conservatives into backing him. Two of those judges, Thomas Hardiman and Raymond Kethledge, were finalists for the nomination that went to Gorsuch and are likely to be considered again. Brett Kavanaugh, a judge on the D.C. Circuit (and a prep school classmate of Gorsuch's), is another possibility.

Whoever emerges will join a court that hasn't been immune from the country's increasing polarization. Where once the clerks of Justices socialized, in recent years, they've clashed. Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Scalia used to go to the opera together. Now the only time some Justices see each other is at their weekly conference or on the dais in the ornate hearing room.

If Kennedy returns to Land Park, he will find the world there has changed too. But at least one lingering demon may have been exorcised.

Not all of Kennedy's childhood memories are positive. One involves a young Japanese-American playmate who owned a samurai doll that was kept in a glass case. Kennedy thought it was a funny toy you couldn't play with, but one day a knock on his family's door revealed his friend, weeping, with the doll in his hands. He handed it to Kennedy before running away. Kennedy later learned the boy had been sent to an internment camp for Japanese Americans, a national disgrace that was later codified into law by the court's *Korematsu* decision.

Kennedy's coda may end up being the correction of *Korematsu*. The day before he announced his retirement, the court issued a deeply divided ruling on Trump's ban on migrants from largely Muslim nations. But it united on one issue of moral conviction. In his majority opinion, Chief Justice John Roberts said 'Korematsu was gravely wrong the day it was decided, has been overruled in the court of history, and—to be clear—'has no place in law under the Constitution.'" Justice Sotomayor, in an otherwise blistering dissent, called the court's unanimous rejection of Korematsu a 'formal repudiation of a shameful precedent [that] is laudable and long overdue.'"

Behind the high principle in those words, and more importantly, in the courts unanimous voice, it was hard not to see one last effort by Kennedy to unite the country.—*With reporting by* TESSA BERENSON, PHILIP ELLIOTT, NASH JENKINS, ABBY VESOULIS *and* JUSTIN WORLAND/WASHINGTON

BARRETT: C-SPAN; HARDIMAN, KAVANAUGH: SHUTTERSTOCK; THAPAR: GABRIELLA DEMCZUK—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

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World

Keys to the Kingdom

What the future looks like for Saudi Arabia's women **By Aryn Baker/Riyadh**

Ohoud al-Haqbani, 35, took her first drive in Riyadh on June 24 after having had licenses in other nations since she was 18

PHOTOGRAPHS BY AYESHA MALIK FOR TIME

A FEW MINUTES AFTER RAWAN STARTED HER maiden drive as a student at the Saudi Driving School in Riyadh, the car began to make an ominous grinding noise. Mariam, the instructor, asked her to pull over. After an unscheduled lesson on roadside breakdowns—stay in the emergency lane, put on your hazards—she called for assistance. Then she met my eyes in the rearview mirror. "This isn't normal," she said nervously. "We have very good cars at our school."

She had reason to be flustered. Her school had already experienced a PR meltdown when foreign journalists descended on the driving academy to meet student drivers a few days before Saudi Arabia's long-standing ban on female drivers was lifted on June 24. But instead of students, they found other trainers posing as students. Once the ploy was discovered, harried school officials rounded up a few unprepared students for a media blitz. Rawan, who had never driven before, was forced to share her first lesson, and her first breakdown, with TIME.

For Saudi Arabia, the charade invited the uncomfortable question of whether the larger undertaking that lifting the ban was intended to herald—nothing less than the transformation of a fundamentalist, retrograde monarchy into a modern Muslim state—might amount to mere window dressing. Crown Prince Mohamed bin Salman has spent much of the past year assiduously courting world leaders, business magnates and journalists to rebrand the kingdom. The effort has collided with assorted difficult realities, including the Saudis' grinding war in Yemen and the spectacle of the Riyadh Ritz-Carlton's being used as a luxe jail for relatives accused of corruption by MBS, as the crown prince is known. June 24, "Driving Day," was supposed to be a clean PR win. It was decreed back in September by King Salman, broadcast on state television and also announced at a news conference in Washington, D.C., lest the intended audience miss the point.

For decades, the prohibition against female drivers in Saudi Arabia has been held up as evidence by critics of the ultraconservative kingdom that Saudi women were among the world's most repressed. If the ban was the symbol of all that was wrong with Saudi Arabia, then lifting it would prove that the country was on the right track.

So Driving Day was, in a way, a coming-out party for bin Salman's Saudi Arabia. That meant well-scripted rallies, carefully selected spokeswomen and photo-ready driving classes. Nowhere was there a mention of the activists who had spent the past three decades campaigning for women's right to drive, save for unwelcome—and unanswered—questions from foreign media about

SAUDI ACTOR ***FATIMA AL-BANAWI;*** *BEHIND THE WHEEL WITH RACE-CAR DRIVER* ***ASEEL AL-HAMAD;***

six of those activists, who have spent the past month in jail on unspecified charges. Other activists were released from detention but warned not to speak to the media.

The decision by a crown prince who calls himself a reformer to detain activists calling for reform raises a question for a generation of young Saudi women whose future lies in the balance. Does the lifting of the driving ban signify a genuine turning point, or is it merely a symbolic bone thrown to silence his critics, leaving more fundamental issues for women unaddressed?

To Marriam Mosselli, 32, founder of Niche Arabia, a global luxury-consultancy firm based in Jeddah, the optics don't matter. "As a Saudi woman living in Saudi, when you see an opportunity, you are going to exploit it to its full potential," she says. "So whether or not it's a media stunt, it's still a step forward."

IN HER FACE VEIL and abaya—the loose, traditionally black garment that Saudi women must wear in public—Reema comes off as a poised saleswoman conversant on all the features of the cars at the Land Rover showroom where she works. But at home and at ease, the working-woman persona comes off with the abaya. Underneath is a giggly teenager in a Japanese-schoolgirl dress, with blue hair, braces and a penchant for crazy dances. The 19-year-old loves cars and can't wait to buy her own—she has already picked out a double-cab GMC Sierra, in cherry red.

Driving it may be a different issue. She wants to let other women go first, she says, to gauge the reaction. Men aren't used to seeing women on the streets, and when they do, she says, they may react unpredictably. The sight of a woman even in the passenger seat can prompt a certain type of young man to weave erratically around the object of his attention at high speeds, or peel out with tires shrieking to gain attention. For Reema, that type of treatment presents a problem. "What if I am driving, and a man likes me and comes near to bother me, and I try to run away in my car, and I crash it? I don't want to hurt my brand-new car."

Reema is exactly the kind of Saudi woman bin Salman says he wants behind the wheel. As part of his widely touted plan for a post-oil-dependent Saudi Arabia, Vision 2030, he has presided over a 5% increase in women's employment in the past year, according to the Ministry of Labor and Social Development. He has implemented a tax regime and introduced cinemas and concerts, and has sidelined conservative religious mores that, in the words of one woman who asked not to be named, "sucked the joy out of living."

A generation of women is set to reap the benefits of these reforms, discovering that a road that had long been closed to them is now open. Saudi Arabia is a youthful country, with 70% of its population under the age of 30. It suffers a 34% youth unemployment rate, which is largely skewed by the limited representation of women in the workplace. Women account for 22% of the Saudi workforce, according to government statistics. Bin Salman's goal is to get that figure up to 30% by 2030. Not only will having women behind the wheel improve participation in the workforce, it will help the economy. According to Bloomberg, the lifting of the ban could add as much as $90 billion to economic output by 2030.

In order to increase women's employment, bin Salman has to convince his citizens that encouraging women to work is a good idea. In an interview with TIME earlier this year, the crown prince said he wants to challenge the conservative orthodoxy: "If someone comes and says, 'Women cannot do business,' we tell them

OHOUD AL-ARIFI, *MARKETING MANAGER FOR UBER SAUDI ARABIA; A ROAD CLOSURE IN NORTH RIYADH*

the wife of the Prophet, she is a businesswoman, and he used to work for her as a Prophet. So the Prophet's practice, it is on our side."

The ban on driving was one of the most significant barriers to women's employment, says Ghaida al-Mutairi, a 29-year-old event manager at GloWorks, a consultancy that focuses on solving female unemployment in Saudi Arabia. Highly qualified women often missed key job interviews obtained through GloWorks' employment agency because they couldn't get a ride, or, if they got the job, they struggled with the commute. Others would turn down job offers because hiring a car and driver to get to the office would eat up too much of their salary. "The lifting of the driving ban is going to make a huge difference," says al-Mutairi.

Even before they could drive, women had been flocking to the workplace in unprecedented numbers. In 2010, women were allowed to work only in places that maintained strict gender separation, like women's schools, or banks that offered separate entrances for men and women. But in 2011 the government started loosening the rules to allow women to work as sales associates in shops, then as supermarket cashiers. At first, there was a backlash, al-Mutairi remembers. "But now, when you go to [supermarket chain] Carrefour, all of the cashiers are women."

This change has spread to other industries, al-Mutairi says. Women who study communications, event management or engineering can expect to find a compatible job after graduation. "Five years ago, we had 50,000 women working in the private sector," she says. "Now it's more than 500,000—and that is before we see the impact of allowing women to drive."

Other reforms will open up new avenues for women too. When bin Salman announced in April that movie theaters and concert venues would be able to operate for the first time in 35 years, most people saw it as an opportunity for entertainment in a country long starved for things to do besides watch movies at home. Cinematographer Rawan Nmangani saw it as something else: a future where her films could be seen on Saudi screens. Nmangani has gained recognition for her work as director of photography for the film *The Great Muse.* Yet when a film festival asked her to list three filmmakers from her own country who inspired her, she drew a blank. "There were none," she says. "We don't have role models yet." She hopes that a generation from now, when another young Saudi filmmaker is asked the same question, she will be on that list.

The side effect of these royal decrees is that permissiveness is creeping in. Saudi Arabians are some of the biggest consumers of social media in the world, and the exposure has broadened perspectives on what is possible, and acceptable. Teenage fashion model Taleedah Tamer will make her debut on the cover of *Harper's Bazaar Arabia* in July. The 17-year-old won't model the latest in Islamic fashion but haute couture from international designers. Tamer says there's no reason a Saudi can't become a supermodel: "My modeling is changing how Saudis see women, and it's changing how the world sees Saudi women."

Now that women are being given a chance, they are poised to take the lead, says Nasreenah, 29, an entrepreneur who used her savings from a day job as a financial auditor to open a clothing boutique. "For too long, Saudi men have taken their status for granted, so they weren't making any efforts. Women are taking over. They are invading the top ranks of companies, or starting their own. Men can't keep up." To Nasreenah, who dreams of opening a Saudi fashion line, more women in the workplace

means a great business opportunity: "It's impossible to find a good suit in Saudi. That will have to change."

The lifting of the driving ban and the opening of movie theaters have received the most attention from Westerners who can't imagine life without such liberties. But a different reform has had perhaps the largest impact on women's lives inside the kingdom. Last year, bin Salman announced that the feared *muttawas,* or morality police, would be stripped of their powers to arrest. When I was last in Saudi Arabia, five years ago, the appearance in a public place of a *muttawa* had the effect of a dementor from the *Harry Potter* novels, siphoning away joy with his mere presence. Women could be stopped, interrogated or even jailed for associating with unrelated men, leaving their hair uncovered or wearing an immodest abaya. Anything from a flash of color at the hem, jewels on the sleeves or an exposed stretch of trouser leg could spell trouble.

The crown prince's pronouncement didn't get rid of *muttawas* entirely—they still have the right to be in public gatherings, and are allowed to lecture on appropriate behavior—but the fear is gone, says Nasreenah. A few months ago, a *muttawa* approached her and a friend in the mall, and asked them to cover their faces. "My friend said to him, 'Show me your ID.' He said, 'Who are you to ask this?,' and she shouted back, 'Mohammad bin Salman said I could.'" The *muttawa* just walked away, says Nasreenah, chuckling. "As soon as the government took away their power, they became meaningless."

Already, the impact is visible on the streets of Riyadh. Women are sporting colored abayas that are more fashion statement than modest coverings. Some opt not to wear a headscarf at all. I joked to Nasreenah that in 10 years, women would abandon abayas altogether. "Are you kidding me? In a few months!" she replied. Most women at her mixed-gender office don't even wear them, opting for conservative clothing instead. Nasreenah wants to reclaim the garment as a symbol of Saudi culture, instead of repression. One of her favorite looks is a classic short abaya, belted and paired with Louboutin heels and no headscarf. "Definitely in the future, the abaya is going to be a thing," she says. "When it's not a requirement, it will be a fashion statement."

ALL THE CHANGES have earned bin Salman an immense loyalty from many in this generation of women whose lives have been radically transformed. "Just a few years ago, me and my circle of friends were hopeless, desperate," Nasreenah says. "We had nothing, we had to cover our faces, we had no chance to drive cars, no chance for freedom. But now, after MBS, we have women driving and feminization of the workplace."

Yet Nasreenah, like many other women I spoke to, asked to use only her first name for fear of a backlash. "I know women have rights," she says, "but freedom of speech is still a blurry area, and it's a bit scary to state your opinion, even if it is in support of the government."

Women may be able to let their hair down and leave their abayas open without fearing the *muttawas,* but they still fear speaking out—and with good reason. A month before the ban was to be lifted, several activists who had long campaigned for women's right to drive were rounded up and detained. Some were released with a warning not to speak to the media. Six are still in detention under unspecified charges. Manal al-Sharif, who became the

ACTIVISM

The freedom to drive comes with a crackdown on Saudi feminists

By Suyin Haynes

The lift of the ban on female drivers on June 24 marked a long-awaited moment for Saudi Arabia's activists. But not everyone was celebrating. That day, several leading figures of the Saudi women's-rights movement were still detained on unspecified charges, facing up to 20 years in prison and unable to mark the achievement of a goal they had been working toward for years.

Loujain al-Hathloul, Aziza al-Yousef and Eman al-Nafjan are three of at least 11 people linked to the Saudi women's-rights movement who were detained as part of a broader crackdown in May. According to human-rights observers, the women were targeted in a "smear campaign" on social media and state-linked media outlets. They were accused of being "traitors" to the state and collaborating with "foreign entities."

Here, more on three of the most prominent women's-rights defenders detained in the crackdown.

LOUJAIN AL-HATHLOUL

The 28-year-old had been one of the most visible activists advocating for Saudi women's right to drive, and was arrested and detained twice for defying the ban. In 2014, she gained international attention when she posted a YouTube video of herself attempting to drive across the border from the United Arab Emirates into Saudi Arabia and then live-tweeted her arrest. In 2015, she stood in the country's first elections that permitted women to run for office as well as vote but was disqualified from the ballot.

AZIZA AL-YOUSEF ▶

The 60-year-old longtime activist and retired computer-science professor was involved in organizing a 2016 online petition that gathered more than 14,000 signatures against the Saudi male-guardianship system. Al-Yousef was also detained in 2013 for driving a car in Riyadh with al-Nafjan as her passenger. "We are sick and tired of waiting to be given our rights," al-Yousef said at the time of her arrest.

EMAN AL-NAFJAN

The prolific blogger's social-media accounts have been silent since arrests began on May 15. Al-Nafjan, 39, wrote in both English and Arabic about everyday life and culture in Saudi Arabia, reporting news "straight from the source." But it was her defense of human rights that Amnesty International said made her a target for harassment and interrogation. "If there was one word to describe what it is like to be a Saudi woman, it would be the word patronizing," she wrote in 2013, calling on the government to finally commit to lifting the driving ban.

AL-YOUSEF: FAYEZ NURELDINE—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

A pop-up Nissan showroom at Jeddah's Red Sea Mall in late June

public face of the campaign after posting a video of herself driving in 2011, is in exile and afraid to return home. It's a dark irony that the very women who campaigned the hardest for the right to drive now find themselves behind bars and unable to take the wheel.

The impact has been chilling. When the driving ban existed, there was a vocal and active movement against it. Women's-rights activists spoke with foreign media, raised awareness and kept up with social-media campaigns. The women who used to openly share their opinions and dreams for a better Saudi Arabia no longer talk to journalists, or if they do, they speak only on background, afraid that their quotes could be enough to identify them. Even women who aren't activists hesitate to express their thoughts.

There is a lot more to achieve before Saudi women can realize their potential as fully participating members of society. While they can now get a job without receiving permission from a male family member, they still can't travel, marry or live independently. "It's ridiculous that, as a fully grown woman with a job that requires me to travel around the region, I still have to get my dad to sign a form every time I need to leave the country," Nasreenah complains. "At the end of the day I am 29, but I still don't have firm control over my life."

This generation of Saudi women faces a fundamental question: Is it enough to accept the changes as they come at a pace dictated from above? Or is it worth risking everything to demand more? Increasingly the answer is no. "There is almost a sense of … we've been getting so much, more than we ever expected—jobs, freedom from religious police, the right to drive—that no one dares ask for more lest it all be snatched away," says a former women's-rights activist who has stopped speaking out for fear of repercussions.

"Protest is not part of our language," says Niche Arabia founder Mosselli, who argues that progress in Saudi Arabia requires a special kind of activism. Pushing too hard, or too publicly, will backfire. Al-Sharif's public demands on social media for women's right to drive set the movement back, she argues. "If it wasn't for Manal, we would have been driving earlier. Once foreign media got ahold of it, it snowballed, making it worse."

Mosselli considers herself a feminist, but in Saudi Arabia, she says, you have to ask for change in a language that everyone can understand. Women got the right to drive when it became an economic issue. The same goes for the abaya, she says, adding, "Once women start dressing modestly, it will open up a whole new market." The point, she says, is not to criticize the government. "That is just something we accept as being Saudi. I know the laws, and whatever my opinion, I will be supportive of the state the best I can."

That doesn't mean the push for change has slowed. It just looks different. Aseel al-Hamad, one of Saudi Arabia's few female race-car drivers, is what many activists would call a "state feminist." She dresses modestly, and while she pushes the boundaries of how women are expected to behave, she never criticizes the state, despite the fact that the prohibition against female drivers stymied her dreams of racing Formula One cars.

A few days before the driving ban was lifted, Jaguar Cars invited foreign media to watch al-Hamad, who had just converted her Bahraini driver's license to a Saudi one, as she took her maiden lap on a racetrack near Riyadh. She had never driven in her homeland before, doing all her training and racing in nearby countries. The press release offered interviews but specified that al-Hamad would not be able to comment on women's rights in Saudi Arabia.

The 34-year-old had come to motorsports late because she'd never had an opportunity to train at home. As she waited for her car to be prepared, she looked wistfully at a Formula One car parked by the track. "That was always my dream," she said. But making it to the top echelons of the racing would have required starting early and training daily—both of which were impossible for a young woman in Saudi Arabia until just a few days ago.

When al-Hamad exited the track a few laps later, tears were streaming down her face. "Its very emotional to be here," she said. "The only thing that will make me happier than the day women can drive is the day I see a young woman racing Formula One on Saudi soil."

For al-Hamad and many Saudi women like her, activism manifests as patience. Her efforts at bending the rules, not breaking them, didn't get her everything she dreamed of, but helped pave the way for a new generation of female race-car drivers who just might. Hers was a quiet sacrifice—not an action as bold as those who defied the rules and paid the price, but a sacrifice nonetheless. ◻

Nation

THE GUN

On a warm spring day, 21 people—some who love their AR-15s, some who would never touch a firearm—gathered to look for middle ground in the life-or-death debate over gun control. Here's what they found out

BY BEN MONTGOMERY, KELLEY BENHAM FRENCH AND THOMAS FRENCH

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY TIME

DIVIDE

THEY WERE HERE BECAUSE OF PARKLAND. AND BEfore that: Sandy Hook. Before that: Columbine.

Outside, as the sun came up, kids wearing MARCH FOR OUR LIVES T-shirts clogged the streets carrying signs reading PROTECT KIDS NOT GUNS. It was the weekend of the young people's protest.

These 21 strangers gathered inside, away from the noise. They had traveled to Washington, D.C., not to march, but to take part in an experiment. They were victims of gun violence, and gun collectors, and cops and lawyers and hunters and teenagers and moms.

Could they do a better job talking with a group of strangers than they had managed to do with their own families? Could they agree on some measures to mitigate the crisis? Could they have a productive conversation, or even a civil one?

A gun, by its nature, is a polarizing thing. A gun forces us to envision ourselves on either one end of it or the other. A gun is

ABOUT THIS PROJECT *"Guns: An American Conversation" convened people on opposite sides of the social and political spectrum to engage in a dialogue around the polarizing topic of guns. The project began with a workshop for 21 participants on March 24 and 25 at the Newseum in Washington, D.C., and expanded to 150 people who participated in a monthlong moderated Facebook group. It was launched by a coalition of American newsrooms owned by Advance Local, in partnership with the journalism organization Spaceship Media, Essential Partners and TIME. This article and a documentary video on the project are being published jointly in TIME and Advance news outlets across the U.S.*

VOICES FROM THE DEBATE

'I didn't want to listen to other people's damn stories and their crying ... [but] there's a lot more to this.'

ALEXIS INTILI,
financial adviser
from Staten Island

'My question [for gun-rights advocates] is, What are you so afraid of? But that's offensive.'

MATHILDE WIMBERLY,
retired educator
from Louisiana

'I come from a long lineage of firearm owners. We believe in self-defense against white supremacists, being that most of my family live in rural locations.'

LA'DANIEL BOYKIN,
pest-control technician
from Colorado

'I did not change my feelings about guns, but I understood that good, smart people could feel differently.'

HELENE COHEN BLUDMAN,
writer from Pennsylvania

an equalizer, a tool, a symbol of liberty and power and slaughter and loss.

Some of the 21 gathered here saw a gun as an instrument of protection. One kept an AR-15 atop the armoire. A few often wore guns strapped to their bodies, under their clothes.

Others had been threatened with guns. They feared that guns empowered people who would marginalize or silence them. They had been intimidated, mugged, raped. They'd lost mothers and cousins and uncles and friends.

They'd been recruited from around the country and across the political divide in an attempt to see if it was possible to create an experience that might build understanding. They would spend two days learning to listen, and then they'd join 130 others in a conversation on Facebook, where people often go to hear only what they already believe.

None of them were entirely sure what they were getting into.

Here was Malak Wazne, 18. Before this experiment was over, a Michigan teenager a lot like her would be shot at while knocking on a door asking for directions. Would Malak's ideas be welcome?

Here was Dan Zelenka, a lawyer and competitive shooter, who knew just about everything there was to know about guns. He came to teach. Would he also be willing to learn?

Here was Alexis Intili, who could spot a liberal a mile away. "Dumb idiot morons," she called them, to their faces. The marchers outside annoyed her. She would never, ever have anything to learn from a high school kid. What did they know?

In a small room, they sat in a circle, close enough that their knees touched. Group leaders coached them to ask better questions, to avoid marginalizing words, to think about how they naturally embed assumptions inside questions.

"It seems to me that this issue all comes down to safety," said Mathilde Wimberly, a retired educator from Metairie, La., who favors gun control. "My question is, What are you so afraid of? But that's offensive."

She thought for a moment.

"Can you tell me more about why you feel that you need lots of guns?"

It's the difference, a group leader said, between asking, "What are you so afraid of?" and "What sorts of things make you feel afraid?"

Each person wrote on a Post-it note one thing they wanted the others to understand about them:

"All I want is to come home at the end of the school day."

"As a law-abiding gun owner, I am not a danger to you."

"I feel like I'm fighting for my right to be alive."

ALEXIS HOPED SOMEONE would insult President Trump so she could go off. She's from Staten Island, where recently she saw two people have a fistfight in a Dunkin' Donuts over whether the last episode of *The Sopranos* was any good.

She's comfortable with confrontation. She was primed for it. But emotion?

"I didn't want to listen to other people's damn stories and their crying."

She's a financial adviser, and in business, she thought, emotion makes you weak. She grew up in an I'll-give-you-something-to-cry-about house in a Republican bubble.

"I never got a chance to know anyone else," she said. "Nor did I want to. I didn't care."

She's pro-gun, but her niece and nephew, ages 10 and 7, are hiding under desks during lockdown drills at school. So something has to change.

She sized up the others in the group. Too young. Too liberal. Too stupid. But she had asked to be part of this, and she decided to give it her best. Then the other members of the group shared their stories. And she listened.

She heard stories about PTSD, rape, suicide and stone-cold killing.

"There's a lot more to this," she said to herself. "Damn, man. I'm a closed-minded bitch."

The conversation that began in Washington, D.C., migrated to Facebook, where it included about 150 people over the next month.

Alexis gave up Netflix so she could settle into bed with her laptop each night and take her role in the conversation seriously. Dan checked his Facebook feed almost constantly.

They were forced to consider the roots

'I wear a hijab, and travel in the United States, so my family fears that I may be a target. I try not to let my fear shut me down, but rather motivate me to push for change.'

MALAK WAZNE,
student from Michigan

'We are the arsenal of democracy. If you really sat down and looked at the numbers, then you have to support gun rights.'

DAN ZELENKA,
lawyer from Louisiana

'There's nobody in my family that has ever spoken to a white person about racism and not been killed for it.'

BRITTANY WALKER PETTIGREW,
child-welfare manager from California

'My mother committed suicide with a gun. I believe in the Second Amendment, [but] I'm willing to consider keeping guns from people that would do harm with them.'

DAVID PRESTON,
courier from Alabama

of their deeply held beliefs. The questions they would ask gave voice to their prejudices and fears.

Why is your personal safety worth more than mine?

If you saw me walking down the street carrying a gun, what would you honestly think?

Is the right to bear arms unalienable, as some believe the Declaration of Independence suggests? Is this right endowed by God, or bestowed by the government in the Bill of Rights? With an eye on history and another on current events, they re-examined language they thought they understood.

Security. Militia. Well-regulated. Free State.

ON A WARM SUNDAY MORNING, on the edge of St. Tammany Parish outside of New Orleans, past Rick's Catfish Cabin and Todd's Country Corner, Dan pulled his Ford Expedition into an earthen quarry and unloaded a bunch of guns.

"My toys," he said.

He pulled out his M1A1 Thompson submachine gun, his M1 Garand, his German MP40, his Swedish "K," his M1918A2 Browning Automatic Rifle and his German MG42. He also brought along a few AR-15s—assault rifles, as they're widely known. The guns Dan and his pals shoot every fourth Sunday in friendly competition. The guns he wants to demonstrate and destigmatize, even as they have become the weapon of choice in mass murders across America.

On Facebook, Dan had offered a lengthy explanation to the oft-asked question, Why would anyone need an AR-15? Lots of reasons, he wrote. It's the most popular rifle in America. Adaptable for many types of hunting, easier to shoot accurately than a handgun.

Dan's nephew J.P., a high school sophomore, dragged metal targets across the Louisiana dirt speckled by spent shells that twinkled in the sunlight. Time to shoot.

At age 3, Dan wore toy six-shooters to his aunt's wedding. At 10, his dad bought him a .22 rifle for Christmas. "Forty-five years worth of guns," he said.

Dan likes to shoot, and he loves to defend the Constitution, especially the Second Amendment.

"We are," he said, "the arsenal of democracy."

His mind was made up. He was so resolute that some in the Facebook group thought he was a mole for the National Rifle Association.

Gun crimes are down sharply since the mid-'90s, he pointed out correctly. "America has gotten safer, but we watch night after night the news about the epidemic of gun violence."

The problem, then?

"It's the criminals," he said. He supports changes to stop violent criminals from getting guns. But he does not support restrictions on broad, ill-defined categories of guns.

"The term *assault weapon* means nothing and it means everything," he said, "because the term is infinitely expandable to mean whatever they make it up to be. And every time they change it, it expands to include more and more firearms.

"If you really sat down and looked at the numbers—took all the emotion away—then you have to support gun rights," he said.

He has known four people who have been present at mass shootings. Two young women he met hiking in the Grand Tetons wound up inside a movie theater in Aurora, Colo., in July 2012, when a madman opened fire. One of the women took a bullet to the knee. Twelve were killed, 70 injured—the largest number of casualties in one shooting in modern U.S. history, until the 2016 shooting at Pulse nightclub in Orlando, which held the distinction until the 2017 shooting in Las Vegas, where Dan's old girlfriend had been listening to country music. That's three. The fourth was his friend Steve Scalise, the Louisiana Congressman shot through the hip last year when a man opened fire at a Republican baseball practice near the U.S. Capitol.

On Facebook, Dan posed and then considered the essential question: Are school shootings the price we pay for a certain level of liberty?

"What we should never do is allow the criminal conduct of a few to be the catalyst for the infringement of any right protected by the Constitution," he wrote.

PREVIOUS PAGES: GUN: GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: WIMBERLY, WAZNE, PRESTON: SETH SIDITSKY—ADVANCE LOCAL (3); INTILI: AMANDA STEEN—STATEN ISLAND ADVANCE; BOYKIN: ROSS TAYLOR; COHEN BLUDMAN: JULIA HATMAKER—PENNLIVE; ZELENKA: DAVID GRUNFELD—NOLA.COM/THE TIMES-PICAYUNE; WALKER PETTIGREW: ROBERT DURELL

Throughout our history, he wrote, we have sent young people to fight for American rights and ideals. "If someone began attacking our schools demanding that we surrender our freedom of religion or freedom of speech or right to vote, would we comply? I think not. Would we be willing to pay a price in blood to protect our freedom?

"Clearly, if history is an indicator, the answer is yes."

On this Sunday, Dan coached his nephew, lying on his belly, staring down the scope of a German machine gun that fires 20 rounds per second.

"You're going to have to use some muscle," Dan told him. "Pull it hard. Pull it real hard."

BEHIND THE SCENES of the Facebook conversation, an army of moderators took turns in shifts, helping people craft comments and reframe questions. They nudged women and young people to speak up, and they gently asked a couple of white guys to quit hogging the mic.

Helene Cohen Bludman felt shouted down by Dan and his lawyerly recitation of gun statistics. So the moderators set her up in a one-on-one conversation with Jon Godfrey, a military veteran in New York, who was one of the 21 initial participants in D.C.

Jon talked about living in a rural area, in a house at the end of a long, dark driveway, where police response times were not comforting. He told her about the gun he leaves with his wife when he's away. He put together a presentation for Helene illustrating the things they had in common: sports, dogs, grandchildren.

"I felt myself understanding for the first time," said Helene, a freelance writer from Bryn Mawr, Pa. "Honestly, this was such an epiphany for me. I did not change my feelings about guns, but I understood that good, smart people could feel differently."

Three people got kicked out of the Facebook group. A few faded away. The moderators struggled with how to handle the mansplainers. Were people participating or advocating? Would pulling them aside help?

They read 13,500 posts and replies in the course of the month.

"The litmus test was are people trying? Do they want to have this conversation?" said Eve Pearlman, the co-founder of Spaceship Media, the firm that helped lead the conversation. "If they are, we can work with them on the habits they've worked on over a lifetime. If they want to keep trying, we can keep trying with them."

Protesters gathered outside the U.S. Capitol at the March for Our Lives on March 24 to demand gun restrictions

Brittany Walker Pettigrew, another moderator, found herself scrolling comments on her lunch hour at her day job when she came across one that made her freeze. The post, by a white male gun-rights supporter, was an attempt to answer the question "Why do people need to own guns?" It has since been edited, but it said, in essence, I need my guns like Rosa Parks "needed" to sit at the front of the bus.

For Brittany, a 45-year old African-American child-welfare manager in Oakland, Calif., that post was so blatantly offensive that she had to sit down.

She and the other moderators debated how to handle things. Was this guy racist? Should he be banned? But Brittany, channeling the spirit of the group, decided to talk to him and try to explain why people just can't bring Rosa Parks into all this.

Afterward, Brittany wasn't entirely sure if the man understood. But she realized that he had actually been trying to say something useful. And then, over time, something much more powerful started to sink in.

"I was heard. And I heard him," she said. "And there's nobody in my family that has ever spoken to a white person about racism and not been killed for it."

IN THE END, they didn't propose legislation or draft a resolution or circulate a petition. They didn't even change their minds.

"We explicitly don't have the goal of changing minds," said Eve. "There is such a breakdown in public spaces for civil discourse. The act of humanizing each other is itself the goal."

But one weekend in April, Helene, the freelance writer from Pennsylvania, was organizing a community march against gun violence, passing around handouts,

TOM WILLIAMS—CQ ROLL CALL/GETTY IMAGES

when she scanned the suggestions for protest signs and cringed. "The NRA is evil."

That would not have bothered her before, but now she knew that NRA members don't like to be called evil any more than liberals like to be called socialists. Her experience in the group helped her learn to listen again.

"Now that extends to when I have conversations that are not about gun violence," she said. "I see the shades of gray where before I couldn't."

Alexis, the Staten Island financial adviser, swears the change she felt in D.C. has been lasting. She considers her D.C. counterparts friends for life. Even the liberals. She never wants to return to the closed-minded, bubble-dwelling name caller she used to be. When she got into a disagreement with a work colleague, she says she suppressed the reflex to call him "dumb idiot moron," and instead said, "Tell me why you feel that way."

April ended, and so did the conversation—on official channels, anyway. Ruth Grunberg of Cortland, N.Y., started a book club for members of the group, and they got too busy chatting to read any actual books. Ade'Kamil Kelly of East Orange, N.J., recorded a podcast.

Dan, the Louisiana lawyer, attended the NRA convention in Dallas. Alexis went to a business meeting in Las Vegas, where gun laws are as loose as the necklines, so she asked Dan where she should go to shoot something big. He directed her to Battlefield Vegas, where Alexis said she paid $330 to shoot an AK-47, a Smith & Wesson .500 Magnum revolver, a German MG42 machine gun and a Barrett M107A1 .50-caliber sniper rifle.

She wanted to feel a kickback that knocked her out of her shoes. The weight of the guns. The flames shooting out of the barrel. The smell of hot metal and powder. The thunder that made people around her back up. The vibrations from the guns firing in the lanes beside her. She wanted to embrace the moment when she, a 45-year-old financial adviser, fired a gun that could blow a plane out of the sky.

And then she thought: "You could shoot down a room full of people in seconds."

And: "What if one of these other people in here is crazy?"

And: "Why are these guns even around?"

And: "It's not worth everybody being slaughtered."

Dan would never forgive her for saying it, she thought, but ban them. Ban automatics. Ban semiautomatics too.

Then, on May 18, Santa Fe High School.

Alexis heard when she got back from Las Vegas. The details were blurry. Was it eight kids dead? Was it only eight this time?

Only?

Other members of the Facebook group took in the news having mostly returned to the bubbles of their lives. Malak, who had joined the conversation knowing she represented both Muslims and high school students, got the news in theater class in Dearborn, Mich. She walked from fifth period to sixth watching the live feed on her phone. The feeling among her friends was one of defeat, a collective shrug.

It was eight kids dead, in fact. And two teachers. Thirteen injured. The shooter, a 17-year-old in a trench coat, used a pump-action shotgun and a .38 revolver owned legally by his father.

David Preston, a courier in Mobile, Ala., who was robbed at gunpoint years ago while delivering pizzas, wrote a public post on his personal Facebook page: "What is going to be The Narrative of the gun grabbers when it is revealed that the Texas school shooter used a Remington 870 instead of an AR-15?"

David says he was working for Papa John's when a gunman ordered him to hand over his tip money. Thirty-five bucks. The next day he bought a gun.

Helene had accepted his friend request just days before. Now he was calling the Parkland students pawns of a liberal media.

Helene thought it wouldn't matter to the families of those dead kids what kind of weapon it was, and she felt all the old familiar powerlessness and resignation and despair.

Had they learned anything, really? Would any of them change? Not their minds—that had never been the point. But their hearts?

Helene clicked his profile, and then she clicked:

UNFRIEND.

So where does it all lead? As each of them take whatever kernel of empathy or understanding or consternation into the rest of their lives, what will they reap? If an experiment doesn't produce a new law or at least a campaign slogan, did it do any good? In Staten Island, Alexis is organizing a splinter group, hoping to repeat the project. She figures her neighbors are stubborn like her, and the group leaders had better bring their A-game. Another new group is starting in Alabama.

Last month, MassLive.com, an Advance Local newsroom in Massachusetts, led a new group in a two-day moderated gun conversation that mirrored the one in D.C.

A woman who had lost a son, a mom who had been shot in the face and a hunter still in his camo all came together and felt the same connection and sense of wanting to do … something.

They stood in a circle when it was over and tried to articulate their hopes.

"I want my words to have power."

"I want to make people who look like me less threatening."

"I want to grow as a person, and be better." □

THE CLOUDS OV

Coal smoke is suffocating Mongolia's capital **By JOSEPH HINCKS/ULAN BATOR**

IT'S −11°F (−24°C) OUTside, but the stove is burning and baby Almasbek Toltalkhan is warm in his family's yurt, or *ger* as the nomadic tentlike home is known in Mongolia. His mother Nursaule scoops him from a crib engraved with pictures of coconut palms and joggles him on her knee while the doctor readies his shot.

Eleven months old when TIME visits, Almasbek is just past the nebulous state of babyhood. He cannot say mom or dad but knows *bain uu*, the greeting with which Mongolians answer the phone, and he wears tartan felt pajamas. He also has a puglike wheeze every time he breathes out and has been hospitalized eight times.

"Our youngest is sick very often," says Nursaule, 25, who like many Mongolians goes by her first name. Almasbek was initially diagnosed with bronchitis in September. Pneumonia followed, and the family ended up spending most of November and December in the hospital. "We would go to the hospital for 10 days of treatment. Then after four or five days at home, we would have to go back again," she says. "Last time, they took him into intensive care."

Pneumonia is now the second leading cause of death for children under 5 in Mongolia. In Ulan Bator, the capital, respiratory infections have increased at a rate of 270% over the past 10 years, and children living in the city have a 40% lower lung function than those living in rural areas, according to UNICEF.

Like Beijing, Ulan Bator was built in a river valley, and surrounding mountains trap smog like soup in a pan. But locals say winter air pollution was barely noticeable until the mid-2000s. Now, the city has among the world's highest

Ulan Bator in February. The Mongolian capital, home to 1.4 million, sees peaks in deadly pollutants every winter ›

ER CITY LIFE

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ZHANG CHI FOR TIME

spikes of PM2.5—the ultrafine particles that can carry carcinogens such as arsenic and mercury and are small enough to permeate most of the body's defensive filters.

The main cause is coal, burned to survive punishing winters in the world's coldest capital. Here, the average January low is −20.2°F (−29°C) but temperatures can dip beneath −40°, the point at which Fahrenheit and Celsius intersect. In late January 2018, a government-installed sensor reported an ultrafine-particle rate of 3,320 inside Ulan Bator. That's 133 times the World Health Organization's (WHO) advised daily limit.

Ulan Bator is one of many urban centers struggling with toxic levels of pollution as industrial emissions, automotive exhaust and chemical releases rise. An April 2018 study by the Health Effects Institute found that long-term exposure to air pollution was linked to the deaths of 6.1 million people in 2016—making toxic air a leading cause of death worldwide.

Pollution is a serious issue in cities in Africa and South America, but Asia is where the problem is most alarming. Delhi's chief minister described his city as a "gas chamber," and air pollution was linked to a staggering 1.61 million deaths across India in 2016. In China, where toxic air killed 1.58 million people the same year, Beijing canceled plans in 2017 to build 103 coal-fired power stations. Air quality in that capital has improved.

When measured annually, Ulan Bator's air is less intensely polluted than air in Beijing, Karachi, Delhi or Dhaka, Bangladesh. But health officials say the extreme peaks in PM2.5 levels during the winter are unlike those seen anywhere else—and they stand to affect young children like Almasbek the worst. In February, UNICEF in Mongolia warned a "child health crisis" looms.

The toxic air could be ending lives in Mongolia even before they begin; preliminary data suggests a 3.5-fold increase in fetal mortality rates between summer and winter and a near perfect correlation between stillbirths and air toxicity.

"People don't really want to see what the potential impacts could be, they close their eyes," UNICEF's Mongolia representative Alex Heikens tells TIME. "We really need to start talking about Mongolia—more than half the population is at risk."

IN NURSAULE'S *GER*, the doctor has arrived. Almasbek's latest bout of pneumonia requires him to receive an injection of antibiotics every eight hours. Distracted, Almasbek fists a hunk of bread toward his mouth as the doctor flicks the syringe: The swab. The shot. The squeal.

Nursaule and her husband Alpysbai quit the Mongolian steppes where their parents herd livestock for a better life in the capital two years ago. They are not alone. A complex mixture of social and environmental factors have made nomadic life more difficult, and better schools, hospitals and job prospects have drawn former herders to the city. Over the past three decades, hundreds of thousands of Mongolians have relocated to Ulan Bator; today almost half of the country's population is squeezed into its capital. The slopes surrounding Ulan Bator are crammed with tens of thousands of *ger*s and self-built houses. Most lack central heating, running water and plumbing.

Today, Ulan Bator's *ger* districts are home to about two-thirds of the capital's 1.5 million people. Here, rickety fences divvy up hillsides pocked with smoking chimneys, pylons and long-drop toilets. The sleek hotels of the city center two miles south are invisible behind a pall of smog. On the coldest days, the stoves in hundreds of thousands of homes burn in unison. Together, they use 1 million tons of coal a year. For the poorest families, even coal is too expensive: their stoves burn plastic bottles and rubber tires.

Nursaule and Alpysbai rarely regret moving to the city. Their rural-born eldest son, 4, is in kindergarten, and their daughter, 2, is bright-eyed and robust; they own a small plot of land and a partly built brick house. Still, the question of city-baby Almasbek's health nags. Nursaule needs to keep him warm, but doing so adds to the pollution he breathes. "I miss the fresh air of the countryside," she says, restocking her stove with coal hefted from a tarpaulin-covered pile outside. "Sometimes you go out and almost nothing can be seen. It's scary."

Babies and young children are especially vulnerable to pollution because they have small lungs, breathe more rapidly than adults, and their immune systems are not fully developed. For some newborns, their very first breath is toxic: UNICEF staff visiting a western province this winter recorded PM2.5 levels 14 times higher than the WHO's guideline level—inside a hospital's maternity ward.

The harm this does goes way beyond asthma and breathing difficulties. Airborne chemicals not only complicate pregnancies and harm babies' lungs, they can irreversibly stunt brain growth—even while a baby is still in the womb. Dr. Frederica Perera, director of the Columbia Center for Children's Environmental Health, explains that prenatal exposure to certain toxins can change the structure of DNA or how it expresses itself, which is particularly dangerous because a fetus' brain develops at such a rapid pace. "Think of it like complex dance choreography. One misstep somewhere could derail the whole program," she says.

Children exposed to toxins in the womb are more likely to exhibit neurological disorders and behavioral problems, and have lower IQs and disease resistance. "Not only do these very early exposures result in immediate adversarial impacts in children, but then can play out over adolescence, adult life and possibly be transferred across generations," Perera adds.

Uugantsetseg Ganbat, an obstetrician and director of a local family-health

'WE REALLY NEED TO START TALKING ABOUT MONGOLIA—MORE THAN HALF THE POPULATION IS AT RISK.'

ALEX HEIKENS, UNICEF official

Baby Almasbek, held by his mother Nursaule, in February

center, sees the impact of toxic air on the 70 to 90 pregnant mothers that visit her clinic in the *ger* district every month. Almost all have some abnormalities in their tests. "Normal pregnancy doesn't exist," Uugantsetseg tells TIME. Doctors at her clinic recently diagnosed a 2-day-old boy with pneumonia. Whether he developed the infection in the womb or outside was unclear, she says, but he was blue when his parents brought him in.

TWO HOURS AFTER Almasbek's pneumonia injection, his father Alpysbai's cobalt blue Hyundai truck pulls up outside their *ger*. Selling his porter full of coal at the black market—where vendors hawk snow-dusted timber piles and used Korean auto parts—has afforded Alpysbai precious moments with his family. He removes his boots with soot-caked hands, plays with his children and eats a plate of horsemeat and potatoes. Less than two hours later, it's time to leave again for Nalaikh, a sprawling warren of mine shafts largely taken over by freelancers.

One porter's worth of coal from the Nalaikh mine—which supplies 70% of the *ger* district's total—sells for about $100 and heats a home for two months, Alpysbai says. But digging for it is perilous. Officially, 12 miners die every year at Nalaikh, but with many artisanal miners like Alpysbai arriving clandestinely at night, it's impossible to know how many bodies are buried beside the coal seams. Still, he considers himself lucky to even have a job. "If I am in good health, my children's future will be fine," he says. "If I get sick and become unemployed, the future will not be bright for them."

Coal and other commodities used to mean bigger business here. On the back of a mining boom, Mongolia became the world's fastest-growing economy in 2011. It recorded double-digit GDP growth the following two years and the World Bank said the country was "at the threshold of a major transformation." But the boom proved short-lived, and although designer boutiques and glass and steel hotels went up in the capital, few Mongolians felt the benefit of the promised transition.

When metal prices collapsed and China's coal demand slackened, the value of Mongolia's currency plummeted and foreign investment calcified. From a high of 17.3% GDP growth in 2011, Mongolia posted 1% growth in 2016. A Louis Vuitton store that had opened in 2009—with a bespoke herders' saddle and caviar case as its centerpiece—shuttered last July. Major social projects also stalled, like a 2013 plan to rehouse tens of thousands of *ger* dwellers in new apartments.

Alpysbai knows that the coal he sells contributes to illnesses in children, but sees no choice. "When I see my son getting sick all the time, I sometimes regret moving to the city," he says, "but we moved to Ulan Bator for the children's future. I want my children to study in a big university."

Mongolia has taken some steps to address its pollution crisis. A World Bank–backed project to replace *ger* stoves with cleaner-burning models temporarily improved air quality, but implementation problems and an influx of migrants meant its gains were fleeting; last year the mayor of Ulan Bator extended a freeze on the city's registering new arrivals until 2020.

But until a lasting fix for the country's social challenges can be found, mothers like Nursaule will be forced to burn coal to keep their *ger*s warm, fathers like Alpysbai will risk their lives underground—and babies like Almasbek will struggle to breathe. ◻

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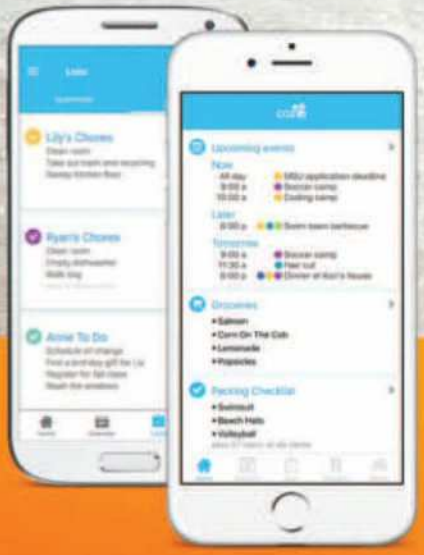

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Time Off

SUMMERTIME SADNESS
A dark new drama starring Amy Adams might be HBO's next big hit

INSIDE

THE TIMELY SICARIO *SEQUEL* SOLDADO *RETURNS TO THE BORDER*

A BUZZY NEW NOVEL REIMAGINES TRANSGENDER HISTORY

AT MOMA, A VISIONARY CONGOLESE ARTIST FINALLY GETS HIS DUE

PHOTOGRAPH BY ELISABETH CAREN

TELEVISION

Hard to watch. Harder not to

By Eliana Dockterman

AMY ADAMS STILL HAS CUTS ON HER THUMB FROM where she would rub the screen of a cracked iPhone on the set of her new series *Sharp Objects,* premiering July 8 on HBO. At first glance, the miniseries looks like a straightforward thriller: Adams plays Camille, an intrepid reporter who returns to her small Missouri hometown to investigate the murders of two girls.

But *Sharp Objects,* based on the first novel by *Gone Girl* author Gillian Flynn, turns out to be something much darker and more ambitious than your average whodunit. The true mystery isn't what happened to the missing girls—it's what's haunting Camille, who must confront the ghosts in her relationships with her domineering mother (Patricia Clarkson) and estranged half sister (Eliza Scanlen).

An alcoholic and a cutter, Camille sustains herself throughout the day by taking sips from a water bottle she covertly fills with vodka and pressing her fingers into those small iPhone fissures. She wears long sleeves to cover bigger wounds: the words she has literally carved into her skin. When the first episode of the show premiered at the ATX Television Festival in Austin, the sight of Camille's exposed and scarred flesh drew gasps from the audience.

During a conversation at a nearby hotel, the series' director, Jean-Marc Vallée, reflects on how wearing those prosthetics might affect an actor. "You started the day for three hours almost naked in front of a team of special effects and makeup people getting the scars put on," he says to Adams. "You've said that made you very vulnerable."

Adams nods. "I wasn't seeing it quite as other people were," she says. "I was, as most women will understand, trying not to look at myself naked in the mirror—that's a whole other level of vulnerability." Only when her husband took a photo series of her body, she says, did she understand how shocking the scars were.

When Flynn wrote *Sharp Objects* some 12 years ago, nobody wanted to publish it. She never imagined that one day a five-time Oscar nominee like Adams or a director like Vallée, who earned praise for his direction of Reese Witherspoon and Nicole Kidman in last summer's *Big Little Lies,* would be willing to tackle such dark material. Writer Marti Noxon, a prolific showrunner with a résumé that includes *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and *Unreal,* rounds out the killer team that represents the pinnacle of prestige television. Only with their combined star power could they turn a character study of a self-destructive woman into the most captivating show of the summer. Everyone except for Adams has already binged all eight episodes of the series. "I started watching, and I can't," the actor admits. "I've never felt more exposed, even in *American Hustle*—when I was literally exposed."

Critics may be tempted to draw parallels between *Sharp Objects* and *Big Little Lies,* both HBO adaptations of best-selling mystery novels featuring marquee stars, Vallée's eerie visuals and a commitment to telling stories about women's pain that frequently get sidelined in Hollywood. But whereas *Big Little Lies* interrogates the violence men impart on women and ends with a rallying cry for sisterhood, *Sharp Objects* is less sudsy and more grim, concerning itself with the subtle and complex ways that women harm one another, rendered in a style that's both surreal and haunting. "It's Tennessee Williams on acid," Vallée says. "There's nothing like it."

Camille (Adams) contends with her chilly mother Adora (Clarkson) inside her haunting childhood home

FLYNN WROTE *Sharp Objects* as an antidote to the stories she saw on bookshelves a decade ago. "It was the era of chick lit, and I was sick of books about women buying shoes," says Flynn. "Books about how female violence is passed down from generation to generation didn't exist. Books about generations of male violence, those are called Great American Novels."

"They don't call it 'dick lit'?" Adams jokes.

PREVIOUS PAGE: CONTOUR BY GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: SHARP OBJECTS: HBO

Flynn was told that Camille wasn't likable, heroic or inspiring enough. Even once the novel was published, the few people who approached Flynn about adapting it were more interested in its gothic mood than its central characters.

But like her famous "cool girl" monologue from *Gone Girl*—about how men expect women to eat junk food, chug beer and play poker, all while maintaining a size-2 figure and acting "chill" when they learn their husbands are cads—the psychology of self-harm in *Sharp Objects* struck a chord with many women, including Noxon. "I always see in movies or literature women in pain because of something men have done to us," Noxon says. "But in this book the men were barely there. They were kind of impotent." On the show, male characters like Chris Messina's detective feel peripheral to the central drama of Camille and her family.

Noxon also had to represent Camille's jumbled narration as memories of her childhood return. On the show, time blurs together. Old memories invade current events. Characters walk casually past ghosts only the audience can see. Sometimes Camille blacks out and finds herself in another scene. For Noxon, the style was personal. "I'm recovering from addiction to everything," she says, "so I could relate to the idea that when you're drinking, the past, present and even the future all gets mushy." The effect is disorienting yet bewitching.

Once Noxon wrote the pilot, she and Flynn recruited Adams, who had once circled Flynn's *Dark Places* television adaptation. "I got pregnant, and I didn't want to live in a 'dark place,'" Adams recalls. "I'm pretty sure I did *The Muppets* instead." (The role ended up going to Charlize Theron.) Adams, in turn, tapped Vallée, who was intrigued by the actor's determination to play a damaged woman. "It was so messed up," he says. "I was like, if she wants to do this, I *must* see it."

As in her moody sci-fi hit *Arrival*, Adams telegraphs a deep sadness that only grows as the story unspools. She is spellbinding even when she is catatonic. Only an occasional quip or smile signals light beneath the dour surface. If it's an unlikely turn for Adams, who is effervescent in conversation and tends to break into song, the actor maintains that she, too, has her demons: "My inner monologue would surprise people."

'I've never felt more exposed, even in American Hustle—when I was literally exposed.'

—AMY ADAMS

THE RECENT SUCCESS of shows like *Big Little Lies*, *Dietland*—also created by Noxon—and *Killing Eve* prove how hungry audiences are for complex female characters, even ones as tortured as Camille and her kin. *Sharp Objects* stands apart for the insightful way it demonstrates how women both internalize and externalize their struggles.

To Flynn, the three leads represent how three generations of women deal with rage. Clarkson's Adora, raised in the 1960s to be a housewife, eats breakfast in high heels and quietly dresses her daughters down. "She has a violent but very subtle and maternal way of completely controlling her family and the town," says Flynn. Camille, who is Gen X, seethes in silence and cuts in private. "We're a very conflicted generation," says Flynn. "We were raised on feminism, and when we didn't get everything right, we blamed ourselves, we turned that anger and frustration inward."

"It's the perfection trap," says Adams. "Do great things, but be cautious. Be pretty, and don't lose your cool. If you fail, it must be your fault."

Finally, there's Amma, a Gen Z wild child who's living a double life: at home, she does her hair up with bows and plays with dolls, but in town with her friends, she dresses in adult clothes and takes up the mantle of high school mean girl. "Mama says you were incorrigible," Amma tells Camille. "I'm incorrigible too—only she doesn't know it." As Amma, newcomer Scanlen turns in a scene-stealing performance, reveling in her occasional cruelty.

The sheer fact that *Sharp Objects* exists is a testament to how quickly the television landscape has changed since the recent era when only difficult men, from *Mad Men*'s Don Draper to *Breaking Bad*'s Walter White, held the small screen. "I barely could sell a show called *Girlfriends' Guide to Divorce* five years ago," says Noxon. "I had male executives say to me, 'If my wife watches this, I'm afraid she's going to think leaving is an option.'" Even if female antiheroes are now more common, for HBO a self-destructive woman remains a gamble.

But it's one that's likely to pay off, if the crowd at the Austin premiere is any indication. They flinch as Camille pricks herself with a needle and groan as she empties a paper bag full of tiny liquor bottles onto her motel bed to drink herself into oblivion. Yet the applause at the end is thunderous—cheering not necessarily for Camille, but for the arrival of a twisty, and twisted, mystery to watch on long summer nights. "Not everyone is going to root for Camille," Flynn says. "Not everyone will think Camille is likable. Who cares? She shouldn't have to be." ◻

MOVIES

Soldado returns to the border

By Stephanie Zacharek

EMILY BLUNT'S RIGHTEOUS FBI AGENT Kate Macer was the conscience and marrow of Denis Villeneuve's 2015 drug war brutality fest *Sicario.* Although her job entailed plenty of encounters with headless or bullet-riddled corpses, her eyes always betrayed that they couldn't quite believe what they were seeing. When you've got an actor like Blunt, your movie can be as belligerent and potentially unpleasant as you want: her soul will always class up the joint.

So much for class in *Sicario: Day of the Soldado,* a sequel directed by Stefano Sollima (whose credits include the Italian TV series *Gomorrah*). There's not a Blunt in sight, though special task force macho men Matt Graver (Josh Brolin) and Alejandro (Benicio del Toro), so enigmatic he has no last name, return. This time their job is to stir up a war between rival Mexican drug cartels; part of the scheme involves kidnapping a drug lord's scrappy teenage daughter, Isabel (Isabela Moner). Although she has enough teen-beat orneriness to kick both Matt's and Alejandro's butts, the movie doesn't let her. Still, when Isabel's onscreen, *Soldado* at least seems alive with something other than bare-knuckle testosterone.

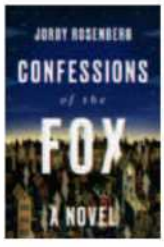
Not that there's anything wrong with that. But a little goes a long way, and despite the presence of the sleepily charismatic del Toro—his beleaguered Alejandro carries heavy baggage both in his heart and beneath his eyes—the *Soldado* man show does grow tiresome. The brutishness here is more muted than in its predecessor, though there's no shortage of people getting blammed with automatic weapons, if that's your thing. And the movie treads carefully around border-control issues—it's squarely on the side of ordinary people just trying to make a better life, instead of relying on drug-gang stereotypes for its juice.

Still, *Soldado* skirts anything that might be seen as political. There's hardly a border-patrol agent in sight—it's easier for the movie to downplay their existence. In real life, *Soldado*'s context is supercharged right now, even if the filmmakers couldn't have known how tensions around immigration would reach a boil by the film's release. But if you're looking for a movie that speaks to the moment, a mindless action-thriller probably isn't it. ◻

The manly men of Soldado: *Josh Brolin, Jeffrey Donovan and Benicio del Toro*

BOOKS

The trans retelling of Jack Sheppard

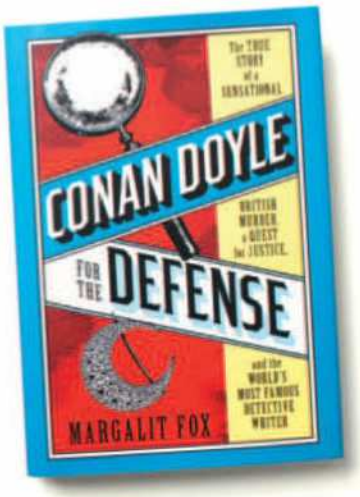


In *Confessions of the Fox,* Jordy Rosenberg's buzzy first novel, historian Dr. Voth discovers a suspicious manuscript that upends centuries-old assumptions about notorious jail breaker Jack Sheppard. The document reveals that 18th century street prowler was a trans man like Voth. As he loses himself in Sheppard's untold story, Voth must fight to keep the manuscript out of the hands of his university administration.

Rosenberg, a literature and gender studies professor himself, interweaves the two narratives by letting the "found" Sheppard manuscript serve as the central text and revealing Voth's present-day story line through confessional footnotes and annotations. Sheppard's story is a dazzling tale of queer romance and resistance against the hegemonic forces of 18th century London; Voth's is a dystopian satire of higher education. Together, they make for an ambitious, if sometimes clunky, experiment.

The annotations are at their best when they cite scholarly sources to ground the "queer" retelling of Sheppard's story in a scholarly context, or add color by defining ribald 18th century slang. But Voth's commentary isn't as compelling as the story he's annotating; amid so much academic posturing, his sense of humor gets lost.

Still, there's much to recommend this delightfully subversive novel, particularly in how the author renders Sheppard's world. Historical fiction can be a homogenous genre. This feels like a revelation: a book that allows queer and trans characters—and readers—to experience something new. —*Wilder Davies*



BOOKS

True detective

By Lucas Wittmann

SHERLOCK HOLMES MAY BE THE greatest detective ever. But it turns out his creator, Arthur Conan Doyle, was no slouch himself.

In a gripping new book, *Conan Doyle for the Defense,* journalist Margalit Fox tells the maddening story of how a German-Jewish petty crook was wrongfully convicted of murdering a wealthy older woman in Glasgow in 1908. After serving over 18 years in one of Scotland's harshest prisons for a crime he clearly did not commit, Oscar Slater was finally released thanks to the tireless efforts of Conan Doyle, who dismantled the police's dismal case and used his celebrity to summon attention.

Around this story, Fox weaves a fluid tour of British anti-Semitism, late Victorian morals, the nascent arts of forensic science, the difference between deductive and abductive reasoning (start with facts, not theories) and the twined biographies of Slater and Conan Doyle.

The book works on two levels, much like a good Holmes case. First, it is a fluid story of a crime (what the maid saw) and an investigation gone wrong (what the police wanted to see). Second, and more pertinently, it is a deeper story of how prejudice against a class of people, the covering up of sloppy police work and a poisonous political atmosphere can doom an innocent. We should all heed Holmes's salutary lesson: rationally follow the facts to find the truth. □

SICARIO: LIONSGATE

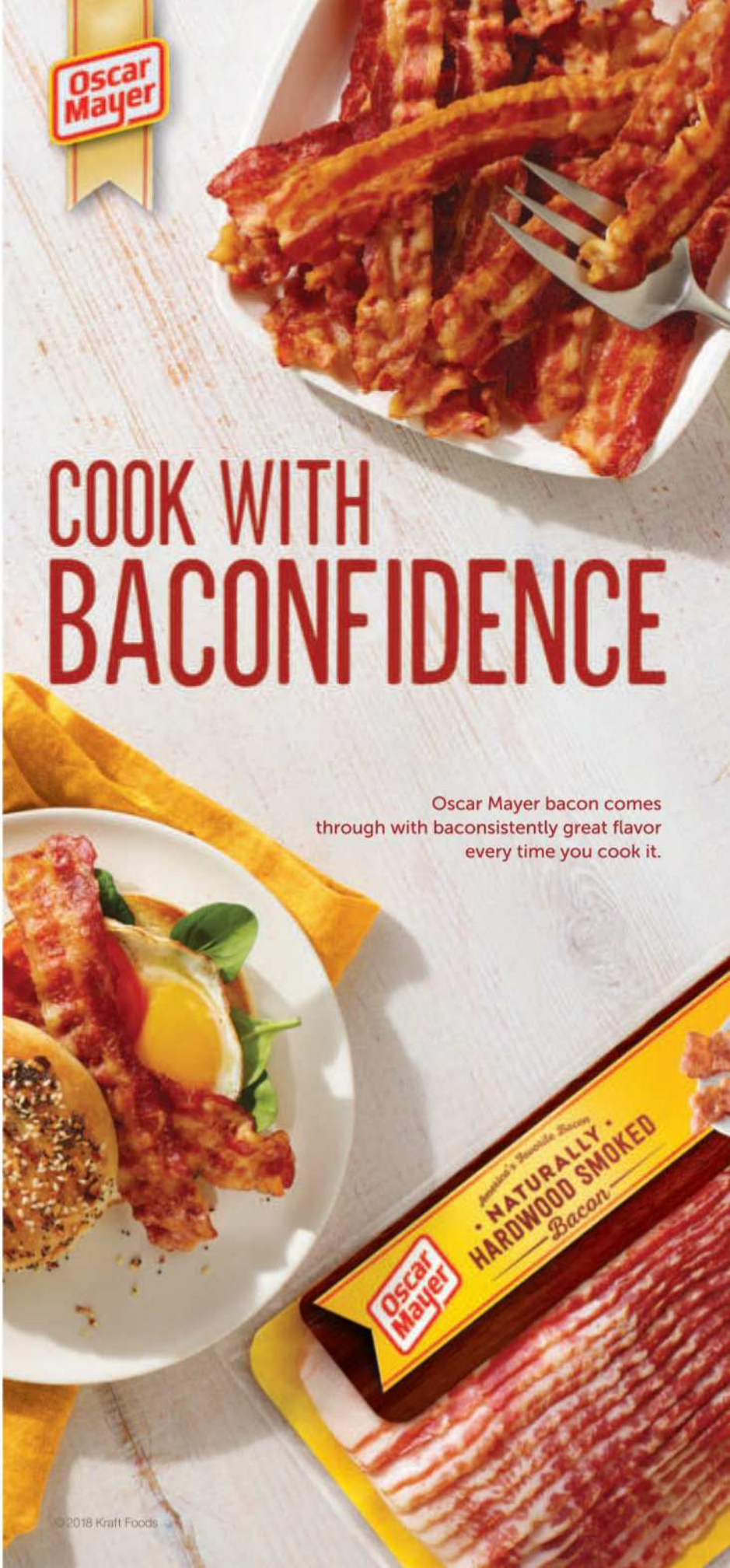


Figure of Eight

More inclusive than ever, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization champions a new model of regional cooperation. By Sun Zhuangzhi

At the 18th Meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) Council of Heads of State, the first summit since the expansion of its membership, leaders of the eight member states mapped the future of a larger organization. The meeting, held in Qingdao, east China's Shandong Province, on June 9-10, saw the release of milestone documents that codify their consensus. All this will further enhance the solidarity and influence of the SCO.

Evolution

The SCO came into being against a distinct international backdrop in the aftermath of the Cold War. It was created as a mechanism to meet the needs of countries in the region in terms of maintaining stability and promoting shared development. Under the Shanghai Five grouping, predecessor to the SCO, China, Russia and countries in Central Asia not only defused risks stemming from long-term confrontation between China and the Soviet Union but also succeeded in building mutual confidence militarily and achieving disarmament in border areas. In addition, they launched joint law enforcement and border defense cooperation programs in a bid to cope with nontraditional security threats—especially extremism, terrorism and separatism—as well as transborder crimes such as drug trafficking.

After the SCO was founded in 2001, collaboration in security expanded to cover a wider range of issues with the signing of a series of legal instruments and the introduction of several mechanisms for dialogue. The SCO Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure was set up in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, as a standing body through which to regularly conduct information sharing and joint antiterrorism exercises. The SCO often takes a coordinated stance on security hot spots and has become a pivotal force for regional stability.

Along with its security efforts, the SCO has found it equally important to synchronize strategies in the economic, cultural and political arenas. Economic ties, which lay the material foundation for the SCO, are essential to the organization's growing dynamism and appeal. The Program of Multilateral Trade and Economic Cooperation was signed at an SCO prime ministers' meeting in Beijing in 2003. Then members identified 11 priority areas and 127 key projects, and established seven working groups within the framework of the economy and trade ministers' meeting. They have made trade and investment facilitation current goals for economic cooperation and are boosting joint action in energy, transportation, finance, customs, agriculture and industrial capacity. By combining multilateral and bilateral initiatives, the SCO has contributed to its members' pursuit of mutually beneficial outcomes and common prosperity.

The organization has also inaugurated meetings of senior officials in charge of the culture, education, science and technology, health, environmental protection and tourism sectors. The SCO University has been established, involving dozens of educational institutions in member states. Various cultural, artistic, media and youth exchange programs have been implemented to improve cross-cultural understanding and friendship among the people of SCO nations.

Ethos

The SCO has adapted to profound changes in the international landscape and spearheaded the rapid development of multilateral cooperation with an innovative approach. The Shanghai Spirit—a code of conduct characterized by reciprocal trust, mutual benefit, equality, consultation, respect for cultural diversity and pursuit of common development—and new concepts of security and cooperation advocated by China have become the foundational principles of the organization. These ideas are a drastic departure from Cold War thinking and power politics, as they call for establishing partnerships instead of military alliances while opposing zero-sum geopolitical games. They have helped safeguard the interests of emerging economies and developing countries, representing a new direction for regional cooperation.

In the SCO, economic development varies greatly from member to member. Social systems, cultural traditions, geographic environments and national defense capabilities are also markedly different across national borders. Regional cooperation requires acknowledgement of these disparities before members can reach consensus, define reasonable objectives and trajectories, and develop full potential for future cooperation.

Despite myriad challenges, the SCO continues to make great strides. In fact, an increasing number of countries and international organizations have expressed intentions to work closely with the organization. In 2004, Mongolia became the first observer to the SCO, and in the following years, five new observers and six dialogue partners were admitted, expanding the institution's geographic space for cooperation. The SCO has also become an observer to the UN General Assembly, as its constructive voice on international affairs is better heard.

The political will of SCO leaders is a primary factor in the institution's growth. Bilateral relations of a strategic nature—especially effective communication between heads of state—are conducive to executive decision-making in favor of multilateral cooperation. A solid legal foundation has also played a part. The SCO has signed a number of important agreements, including the SCO Charter, the Treaty on Long-Term Good-Neighborliness, Friendship and Cooperation, and the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Extremism and Separatism, establishing basic principles for cooperation.

Last but not least, the extension of the China-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination on a regional dimension makes it possible for the SCO to engage in extensive multilateral collaboration. China's contributions are considerable, including the provision of more than $22

The author is executive director of the China Shanghai Cooperation Organization Studies Center.

Military bands from Shanghai Cooperation Organization member countries perform in Beijing on April 24

billion concessionary loans to other member states, as well as the funding of training sessions and exchange programs.

Inclusiveness

The SCO tries to uphold principles of openness and transparency while emphasizing the importance of not inciting rivalries with other organizations and states. Having entered into partnerships with many international organizations, the SCO is not exclusive of other multilateral mechanisms that exert influence in the region. It supports the implementation of various transnational initiatives with the belief that regional issues should be resolved politically through collaboration.

A symbol of this vision came as the SCO held an international conference on Afghanistan in 2009, to which delegates from numerous countries and international organizations, including the United States and the European Union, were invited. After China proposed the Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road Initiative in 2013, which aims to enhance connectivity along and beyond the routes of the ancient Silk Road, the SCO provided a platform for countries in the region to align their development strategies. It has offered assistance to several transnational projects and multilateral initiatives in Central Asia, such as the EU-led construction of highways and the nuclear-free-zone initiative put forward by Central Asian states.

The maneuvering of some major powers has fueled tension between nations and generated instability within certain countries, exacerbating the complexity of the region's security landscape. Antiterrorism efforts in Syria and Iraq are plagued with new uncertainties. The SCO calls for respecting the authority of the UN and norms of international law while standing against intervention in the domestic affairs of countries in the region by external actors.

Since its inception, the SCO has been harried with questions about its mission and function. Critics have been vocal in their prejudices with cynical predictions and pejorative rhetoric. Some Western scholars have gone so far as to claim that the SCO intends to become an "Eastern NATO" ready to confront the West, while some analysts speculate that competition between China and Russia in Central Asia will undermine the organization's internal unity. Since the accession of India and Pakistan last year, the number of doubters has increased. They argue that conflicts between India and Pakistan and between China and India will make it difficult for the SCO to operate, and that the organization could be at risk of collapse.

These arguments are not grounded in facts. Cooperation has recently been the defining feature of relations between China and Russia, as well as between China and India, which is in the interest of all three countries.

The SCO will not become a military or political alliance, nor a bloc that is antagonistic to the West and competes with it for spheres of influence. The Qingdao summit illustrated the commitment of SCO members and observers to building a community in which countries across the region share the same future, with interests intertwined based on extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits. Their cooperation will not only change the outlook of Eurasia; it is indicative of how global governance can be improved, and how China's vision for a community with a shared future for mankind can be become a reality. ■

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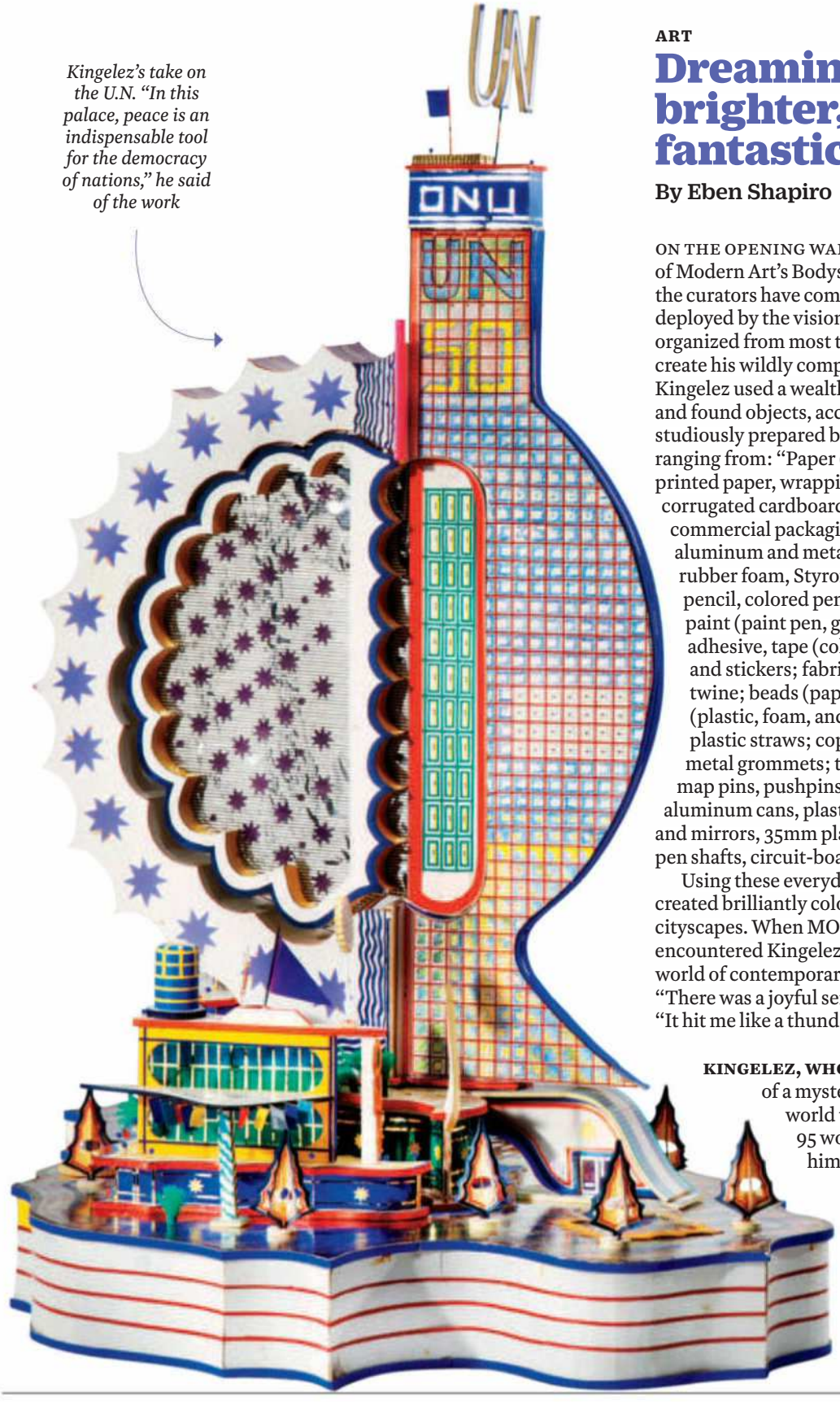

Kingelez's take on the U.N. "In this palace, peace is an indispensable tool for the democracy of nations," he said of the work

ART

Dreaming of a brighter, more fantastical world

By Eben Shapiro

ON THE OPENING WALL LABEL FOR THE MUSEUM of Modern Art's Bodys Isek Kingelez retrospective, the curators have compiled a list of materials deployed by the visionary Congolese artist "roughly organized from most to least prevalent." To create his wildly complex, fantastical cityscapes, Kingelez used a wealth of commonplace materials and found objects, according to the inventory studiously prepared by conservators and curators, ranging from: "Paper (including colored paper, printed paper, wrapping paper and tissue paper); corrugated cardboard, paperboard, and printed commercial packaging; wood; acrylic and plastic; aluminum and metallic foil and cardboard; rubber foam, Styrofoam, and foamcore; ink, pencil, colored pencil, crayon, marker, and paint (paint pen, gouache, and poster paint); adhesive, tape (colored tape and metallic tape), and stickers; fabric, yarn, string, thread, and twine; beads (paper, wood, and plastic); balls (plastic, foam, and thread-wrapped); paper and plastic straws; copper wire, coated wire, and metal grommets; toothpicks, pins (including map pins, pushpins, and thumbtacks), and nails; aluminum cans, plastic bottles, and bottle caps; and mirrors, 35mm plastic slide mounts, ballpoint-pen shafts, circuit-board diodes and electric lights."

Using these everyday objects, Kingelez created brilliantly colored and inventive utopian cityscapes. When MOMA curator Sarah Suzuki first encountered Kingelez's work in the often cerebral world of contemporary-art fairs, it stunned her. "There was a joyful sensory overload," she says. "It hit me like a thunderbolt."

KINGELEZ, WHO DIED in 2015, is something of a mystery. "If you asked 100 art-world types, 'Who is Kingelez?,' 95 would say, 'I've never heard of him before,' and five would say, 'That's my favorite artist,'" says Suzuki. Kingelez has also largely existed outside the commercial hothouse, where the works of favored art stars trade like ever escalating commodities. Suzuki says Kingelez did not have a commercial

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART (5)

"I'm a designer, an architect, a sculptor, engineer, artist," said Kingelez, whose work is on display in New York City through the end of the year. His utopian creations are made from a wide range of materials

dealer during his lifetime, and sales records show that his work trades infrequently and for relatively modest amounts. Sotheby's sold a small piece for about $60,000 this year; other pieces have sold for as little as $7,400.

The MOMA show is likely to transform interest in his work. The show, which contains more than 30 pieces, is Kingelez's first major retrospective and includes roughly one-third of his work. Yet one challenge for potential collectors and museums is the ephemeral nature of much of his materials. "The materials are imbued with what curators refer to as 'inherent vice,'" explains Suzuki. "The material itself is not intended to last."

The MOMA show is Kingelez's first major retrospective

KINGELEZ WAS BORN in a small agricultural village in the Democratic Republic of Congo, then known as the Belgian Congo, in 1948. He moved to the capital, Kinshasa, as a young man to attend school, later becoming a teacher before being compelled to make art. In a wonderful creation story that Suzuki uncovered, Kingelez recounts creating a sculpture out of paper and presenting it to the national museum. Suzuki says museum officials, blown away by the work's technical mastery, refused to believe that he had made it himself. They accused him of stealing it, and then demanded that he create another one before their eyes. After he did, they hired him as a restorer, where he stayed for six years, before becoming a full-time artist.

Highly attuned to geopolitics, both globally and in postcolonial Africa, Kingelez's cityscapes "present models for a more harmonious society for the future," according to MOMA materials.

One of the highlights of the show is *Kimbembele Ihunga* (1994), a fantastical rendering of the village where he was born transformed into a dazzling metropolis, with a large stadium, a statue of his father, broad boulevards, skyscrapers and a grand train station, all rendered in wild colors. "This town," Kingelez wrote, "is the very image of my ability to create a new world."

Art historian Chika Okeke-Agulu writes that Kingelez's "fantastical, colorful and audacious objects" represent an artist's "ever-necessary task of envisioning the present and future world." And it's a world that is providing much delight to museumgoers in New York City, where the exhibit is on display until Jan. 1. Suzuki says people leaving the show tell the guards that it made them feel joyful. In his work, Kingelez depicts "a place of optimism, a place of beauty," says Suzuki. "That feels very welcome." ◻

Lower prices were advertised at a Whole Foods in California on June 20

Amazon primes its customers to shop at Whole Foods

By Mike Pomranz

AFTER AMAZON ANNOUNCED THAT IT was acquiring Whole Foods Market last year, some integration between the two brands seemed inevitable. And aside from maintaining separate identities, they've almost fully melded: Amazon delivers Whole Foods groceries, Whole Foods sells Amazon products like the Echo and Kindle, and now—as of June 27—Amazon Prime members will get discounts at all Whole Foods and Whole Foods 365 locations.

The discounts first rolled out in Florida in May and have continued to expand nationwide over the past month. Prime members get an additional 10% off items with yellow sales signs, which the brands bill as "hundreds of sale items throughout the store" (alcohol excluded), as well as additional weekly deals. This week, for example, Prime members can save $5 per lb. on baby back ribs and $6 per lb. on wild-caught sockeye salmon. All bulk items, including nuts, granola and dried fruit, are 25% off for Prime members. A membership, meanwhile, costs $119 annually.

Whole Foods has been trying to reduce prices to compete with other grocery stores since at least 2015, when it opened a spin-off chain of lower-priced stores called Whole Foods 365. And Amazon has struggled with its food venture, AmazonFresh, which never expanded beyond 20 states and never broke the $1 billion sales mark—small for the web behemoth. But in May, Whole Foods CEO John Mackey told *Fortune* that the merger had given Whole Foods new ways to appeal to customers who are looking to spend less, and it became clear that Amazon will finally have a real chance at competing in the $800 billion U.S. grocery market that's rapidly shifting toward e-commerce. *Fortune* also reports that AmazonFresh may merge with Prime Now, Amazon's free two-hour delivery from Whole Foods for Prime members in 10 cities across the country.

Amazon is following the Walmart model: using groceries to expand an already massive retail business. With groceries, Walmart now makes more than half its $500 billion in sales in food. *Fortune* reports that Amazon could overtake Walmart by 2021, but with $200 billion in current sales, Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos has admitted that the company needs a trip to the grocery story to get there. ◻

you asked

Is it possible to eat too much fruit?

For healthy adults, experts say that eating a lot of fruit is unlikely to get you into trouble, as long as it's part of a normal diet.

The main concern with overeating fruit is its natural sugar, yet research has consistently linked whole-fruit consumption to a reduced risk for obesity and other metabolic diseases, says Dr. Robert Lustig, a neuroendocrinologist and professor emeritus of pediatrics at the University of California, San Francisco. That's because whole fruit has a few built-in advantages that seem to mitigate any sugar-driven health risks. It contains both soluble and insoluble fiber, which form a gel-like "latticework" on the inside of the small intestine, Lustig says. That latticework prevents a big portion of the fruit's sugar from being absorbed early on during the digestive process. "Like stopping a tsunami wave by building an underwater wall, this gel barrier limits the rate of sugar absorption so that the liver is not overwhelmed," he explains.

Fruit fiber also helps food molecules reach the final part of your small intestine sooner, so you tend to feel full more quickly after eating fruit. As a result, "fruit consumption is self-limiting, so the chances you will overeat fruit are relatively low," Lustig says.

Some fruits may be better to indulge in than others. Berries have been linked to both improved heart and brain health. But grapes may demand more self-control. "Grapes are outliers in terms of their sugar-to-fiber ratio," Lustig says. "They're basically little bags of sugar."

If you love whole fruit, there's little evidence that indulging in it—even a whole lot of it—is bad for your health. *—Markham Heid*

WHOLE FOODS: DANIA MAXWELL—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; STRAWBERRY: GETTY IMAGES

THICK
RICH
DELICIOUS

NOTHING ELSE TASTES LIKE

Mona Hanna-Attisha The pediatrician who revealed that Flint had lead in its water has a new book about what went wrong and how to fix it

What led you to suspect that there was lead in the water of Flint, Mich.? I was clued in by a high school girlfriend—a drinking-water expert—over a glass of wine at a barbecue at my house. She told me that the water [which was being piped from the local river to save money] wasn't being treated properly.

And once you proved that to be true, the city swung into action? No. I was attacked, the science was attacked and my credibility was attacked. Everybody talking about this was attacked: moms, activists, pastors, journalists.

In your new book, *What the Eyes Don't See*, you say the crisis in Flint was caused by both government policy and a lack of faith in government. How can it be both? It was policy that poisoned the city. It was the policy of austerity and emergency management, which usurped democracy. And it was also a belief that the government wasn't there to solve your problems. In Michigan, they were trying to run government like a business.

Why open the book with a story of a terrible childhood car accident? Afterward, I couldn't move, I couldn't talk. But a doctor came to me and held my hand and said, "You were in a terrible accident, but you're going to be fine." Thirty years later, it's me in that white coat looking over children and telling them that they were in an accident. Now it's my job to make sure that they're going to be fine.

You call Flint "the most important and emblematic environmental and public health disaster of this young century." But a medical journal recently said that the increase in blood lead levels did not meet the level of an environmental emergency. Are you exaggerating? Looking at blood lead levels means we're too late, because children are being used as environmental detectors. We should be looking at the water lead levels. There is no safe level of lead. It's one of the most potent neurotoxins. It affects children's cognition, their behavior, their entire life-course trajectory. It's one more toxic stress, one more developmental risk factor for a population of children that already has many.

"IN MICHIGAN, THEY WERE TRYING TO RUN GOVERNMENT LIKE A BUSINESS"

Your parents legally immigrated to the U.S. from Iraq. Recently, children were being separated from their parents after they crossed the U.S. border. What should be done? We know the trauma that is happening to these children, and the trauma of separation, of fleeing another country. Toxic stress can cause irreparable harm to these kids. We came here legally, but we were fleeing oppression, tyranny, fascism, the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. I am grateful to be here and to be able to serve my country in whatever capacity that I can.

You have an anti-austerity bent, but budgets are limited. What could cities learn from Flint? One lesson is to have diverse voices at the table, to make sure democracy is retained. But there are also things that we can't put price tags on. Some things are part of our public welfare, and we should not look at a balance book to do them.

How is the situation in Flint now? Flint is still on filtered and bottled water. We've replaced over 6,000 lead pipes, which is amazing. I think there's about 12,000 left to replace. I can't treat lead. But there's a lot that I can do to mitigate developmental challenges. In Flint, every kid [up to age 5] gets mailed a book every month. We're expanding nutrition options. And we have Medicaid expansion in Flint, all because of the crisis.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

MIKE NADDEO

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